



VIEW OF THEODOSIA (KAPPA) TAKEN FROM THE TOWER OF POPE CLEMENT V. (1368.)

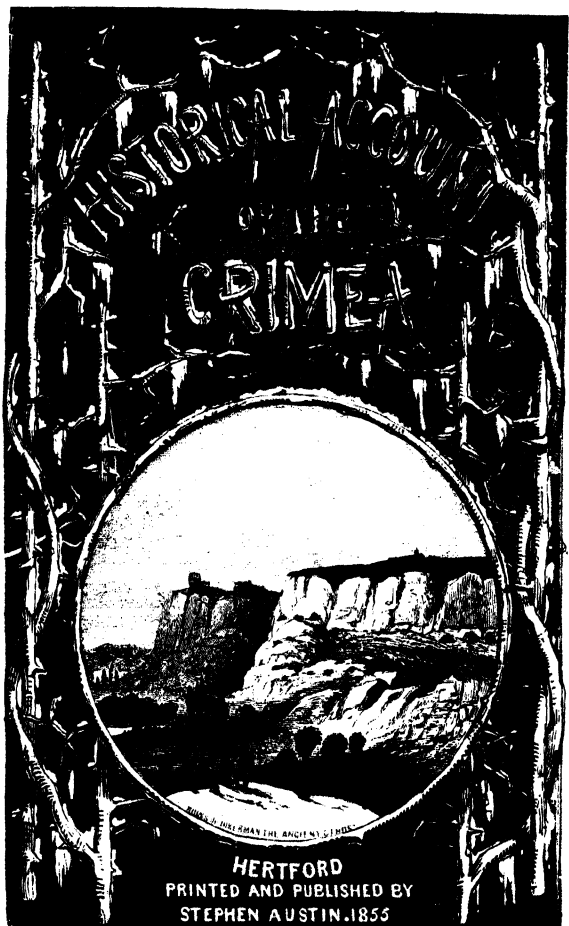
GENOISE CITADEL.

GENOISE CASTLE.

TOWER OF CLEMENT.

QUARANTINE.





A SHORT
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
CRIMEA,

FROM THE EARLIEST AGES AND DURING THE
RUSSIAN OCCUPATION,

COMPILED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES

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PREFACE.

LITTLE is known in Europe of the Crimea, beyond the fact that, after having been for many years the battle-ground of native factions and the victim alternately of Northern avarice and Eastern ambition, it was finally subjugated in the last century, by Catherine II., and has since been a province of the Russian Empire. Its ancient glories, its mythical and its real history, have alike been forgotten; and the Tauric Chersonesus might have continued unnoticed, and comparatively unknown, if it had not recently become the scene of the most obstinate and remarkable conflict of modern times. This new passage in its history, revives recollections of its former greatness; and justifies us in rescuing from

obscurity the story of its rise, its vicissitudes, and its decline. In the present work—which assumes only to be a collection of the records which lie scattered in many books, seldom read, and most of them inaccessible to the many—the writer has commenced his narrative in a time so remote, that its history is lost in the twilight of fable. But, as all history is more or less dependent upon tradition, and as all tradition discloses some truth of which we should otherwise be uninformed, it will not be thought that he has exceeded the legitimate office of the chronicler, in presenting that which may be obscure and doubtful as the basis of a later history which is more substantial and certain.

Nothing that relates to the Crimea can be at this moment uninteresting ; but what chiefly concerns us is the present condition of its people, and what has befallen them under Muscovite

rule. Russia pretends that she conquers only to strengthen and civilize. Is there truth in this boast? Is Russian aggression justified by the benefits which have been conferred by Russian rule? Our history will help us to an answer to this question. From the earliest times the northern coast of the Black Sea was the seat of a considerable traffic; and, when the inhabitants of the Crimea were least distinguished for enterprise, they had the wisdom to afford an asylum to the energetic colonists from Italy who came to restore to them the advantages of commerce. Whatever were the faults of the Khans, and whatever the natural deficiencies of the Tartar race, it must be admitted that, when Catherine II. took possession of the Crimea, it was in a more flourishing condition than at any previous epoch of its modern history. The Russian conquest passed like a blight over the face of the land, and checked its growing

prosperity. The commercial population of Armenians and Greeks were compelled to emigrate ; and the most cultivated and patriotic of the Tartars voluntarily expatriated themselves. Those who remained were no longer animated by the hope which stimulates to exertion ; and, if anything beyond the consciousness that the dark shadow of a foreign despotism was over them, were wanting to depress and discourage, Russia supplied the omission by the establishment of serfdom. Nor did she forget to insult, as well as to enslave. Many of the beautiful mosques and fountains, which were to the Tartars objects either of pious veneration or of intelligent delight, and which Catherine had solemnly promised not to disturb, were destroyed by the Russian Vandals ; chiefly, as it must be presumed, with a view to humiliate the conquered race. Under such a *régime*, the people necessarily

lost spirit; and their *inertia* completed the work which their Russian masters had commenced. The Crimea ceased to have a commerce of its own. Kaffa, Kertch, Bakshi-Serai, Koslof, Stara Crim,—in fact, all the towns which the Khans had left in a flourishing condition at the time of their overthrow, rapidly declined; and for these lost centres of commerce, Russia gave its new subjects—Sebastopol, with its gloomy fortresses; and Simpheropol, with its dismal streets and squares, so wide that it seems an arid desert shut in by masonry! Nor were these the only misfortunes imposed upon the inhabitants. In violation of an express stipulation to the contrary, Russia has constantly drawn recruits for her armies from amongst the Tartars; and has substituted her laws for those that previously existed, and enforced the use of her language in the legal tribunals of the Crimea.

To destroy all souvenirs of nationality has been the policy of Russia in the Crimea, as in Poland : for despotism, in its advances, leaves an enemy in its rear, if it leaves a people whose national spirit has not been thoroughly subjugated. It has also been the policy of Russia to compel the populations of the territories she has annexed to pursue those primitive occupations which render the acquisition of wealth almost impossible, and intercourse with foreigners unnecessary ; for the prosperity of a conquered race, or the free intercourse which is the consequence of commerce, would be dangerous to the perpetuity of her sway. How far this policy has been successful in reference to the Crimea we have already seen. The rude hand of the spoiler has passed over those fertile plains ; and swept from those busy shores the traffic which, while it enriched, promised at some future day to be the means of

introducing the Tauric Chersonesus into the European family of nations. So far Russia has temporarily achieved her object, and added to her extensive territory a desolation which she did not find, but has made. There is, however, yet a *national* spirit in the land of the old Khans of Crim. Despite all efforts to amalgamate them, the Tartars stand aloof from the dominant race from whom they widely differ in manners and religion. The vices and social habits of the Russian are repugnant to the temperate Tartar, who is never intoxicated, and seldom unchaste; and the dislike with which the natives of the Crimea regard their ungenerous masters, is aggravated by the disgust which is excited by their coarse manners and loose morals. Three quarters of a century of subjection have failed to unite races so entirely uncongenial; and the Tartars still keep themselves separate

from their conquerors, whom they have never ceased to despise. Still, too, they preserve the memory of their former independence; and in their native songs they tell of the prowess, the virtues, and the magnificence of their Khans; and of the misfortune which befel them when the Muscovite legions came in overwhelming numbers, and ‘might’ triumphed over ‘right.’ May we not hope that the patriotism which still finds expression in the ballads of a people, will be vigorous enough to enable them to avail themselves of the opportunity which may be yet afforded them of rising to the dignity of an independent people, when the invader is repulsed from their shores, and the causes which have so long hindered their development have been removed?

Constantinople, March 12, 1855.

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AN
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT,
ETC.

INTRODUCTION.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE CRIMEA OR TAURICA
CHERSONESUS.

THE word Chersonesus is said by some to be derived from *χέρσος* or *χέρρος*, 'mainland,' and *νῆσος*, 'island,'—'island joining the mainland'; *presqu'île*, 'peninsula.' Others have given it a different derivation, and make the word *χορονῆσος* 'Koros-island,' 'Sun-island,' which was later converted into Cher-son, or Kherson. If this latter version be correct, the word Chersonesus, which is applied to several peninsulas, will probably have owed its origin to the sunny lands of the Crimea.

The Crimea, anciently known by the designation of Taurica Chersonesus, is bounded on the

south and west by the Black Sea, on the east by the Sea of Asoff, and on the north by the Isthmus of Perekop, which joins it to the mainland. It contains 1,100 square geographical leagues, or 8,000 square miles. It presents two widely different aspects. An immense plain, gently undulated, and without trees, streams, or mountains extends in a northerly direction* over nearly three-fourths of the Peninsula, and exhibits all the characteristics of the steppes on the northern side of the Isthmus: while along the southern extremity, separating the stormy Euxine from the plains which are stretched out below, rises the mountainous region which skirts the shore for the distance of about ninety-five English miles. The mean breadth of this mountain ridge (which, considered geologically, is a continuation of the Caucasian range), is from twelve to sixteen miles. That many of these mountains have been formed by internal commotions of the earth is proved by the existence of craters, lava, and burnt rocks. The range is composed of

* The north of the Chersonesus forms a part of that plain which the ancient inhabitants of Asia had to traverse on their way into Europe. From time immemorial the current of human migration flowed in this direction, along the shores of the Sea of Asoff to those of the Euxine, and thence into Europe.

mountains and hills of very different altitudes, occasionally rising from the sea to a prodigious height. The highest summit is the Tent mountain (the Tchatir-dagh), which is 5,812 feet above the sea level. Such mountains, at the mouth of vast rivers like the Don and the Dnieper, would offer an obstruction which must lead to the deposit of much alluvial matter. Hence the formation of the steppes to the north of this ridge, separated from the mainland by the overflowings of these two rivers, which nearly meet at Perekop.

From the mountains descend many small streams, which flow, generally in a north-easterly direction, to the plain or steppe below. The chief of these is the Salgir river, which springs from a crater near the Sargar pass, receives the tributary streams of the Carasou, the Souya, and others, and, after winding through the country, falls into the Sea of Asoff. Others of less importance, such as the Alma, Belbec, and Katcha, take a westerly course, and fall into the Black Sea.

The mountains which run from east to west from Soudak and by the coast to Kouchouk-koi, enclose and shelter—from every wind but that which blows from the south—a narrow strip of

land, the climate of which is so mild, the skies so fair, and the soil so productive, that it may be denominated the Naples of Russia.*

The climate of the Crimea is not unfavourable to health. There are, indeed, spots here, as in almost every country, where the nature of the soil and the character of the vegetation occasions the formation of marshes, which are the fruitful sources of malaria and fever. Generally, however, it is not so. All the advantages of diversity of scenery, of plain and of mountain, which serve to temper climate, are here enjoyed; and the warmth of the torrid is combined with the cool zephyrs of the temperate zone. The winter is short. Late in November it is still warm, and

* "If there exists a spot," says Dr. Clarke, "which may be described as a terrestrial paradise, it is that which intervenes between Kütebückoy and Sudak. Protected by encircling Alps from every cold and blighting wind, and only open to those breezes which are wafted across the sea from the south, the inhabitants enjoy every advantage of climate and situation. From the mountains continual streams of crystal water pour down upon their gardens, in which every species of fruit known in the East of Europe, and many that are not, attain the highest perfection. Neither unwholesome exhalations, nor chilling winds, nor venomous insects, nor poisonous reptiles, nor hostile neighbours, infest this blissful territory. The life of its inhabitants resembles that of the Golden Age. The soil, like a hot-bed, rapidly puts forth such a variety of spontaneous produce that labour becomes merely an amusing exercise. Peace and plenty crown their board; while the repose they so much admire is only interrupted by harmless thunder reverberating in the rocks above them, or by the murmur of waves upon the beach below."

early in February the land begins to smile in all the rich verdure of spring.*

It will be convenient if, following the coast line, we mention in their order the more important places, and then turn to the towns in the interior.

Or-capi, better known as Perekop, the Taphræ of the Greeks (from *ταφρος*, 'a ditch'), is a small town, forming the gate or entrance into the

* If we consider the climate of the Crimea, many peculiarities present themselves which have as yet received but little attention. The south coast lies between the 44th and 45th degrees of north latitude, at the same distance from the equator as North-Italy—Genoa and Venice for example. Add to this, that the Crimea is a peninsula, and thus possesses a maritime climate; and that, if its northern plains are sheltered from the rough blasts of Eastern Europe, the southern coast appears to be thoroughly protected by a range of mountains 4000 feet high. West winds prevail, but the current of wind is from the south. All these circumstances would lead us to expect a mild climate like that of North-Italy. . . . The climate is, however, in general severe, and never approaches that of Milan, which lies about one degree more north; but it has much in common with that of the north of France. Again, it possesses so many peculiarities that it differs from it in as many cases as it resembles. . . . The summer is generally hot. . . . The heat is all the more felt, because, at this season (July), rain rarely falls. . . . The south coast has properly no autumn, but a double spring, in so far as by spring we understand the renewed awakening of vegetation. The real spring, which agrees with our own in time, and sometimes lasts from the middle of April to the middle of June, but more usually begins with March and ends in May, is not, as with us, the finest season of the year, and the greatest variability prevails. . . . The late autumn offers far more attractions,—it appears, indeed, a kind of second spring. . . . On the south coast of the Crimea, in the year 1843, there was fine weather up to the 17th March, the thermometer never having reached the freezing point.—“Die Krim und Odessa,” von Prof. Dr. Karl Koch, pp. 183-6. Leipz. 1854.

Peninsula. The entrance is by a bridge over a wide and deep fosse. The fortifications are very irregular and are not now in a state fit for defence.

Koslof (Eupatoria)—on the west coast, in an angle of the Bay of Kalamita—is a small and not important town. Below—on the south-west coast, at the opposite point of land forming the Bay of Kalamita—on the peninsula of Trachea, was founded the celebrated City of Cherson, for many years the capital of the Chersonesus and the centre of a very considerable commerce. The modern Sebastopol has been founded near its ruins. The size and depth of its harbour, the facility of defending its entrance, the perfect safety it affords to vessels at all times, would render it the finest harbour in the world, were it not for the waters of the little river Ouzine, which falls into it from Inkerman, and which, mixing with the seawater, engenders a worm, which is very destructive to the shipping.

Near the ruins of the ancient city of Cherson is a small harbour, and a little to the south is a promontory, Cape Aïa (Parthenium), on which stood the celebrated temple of Diana. Here the mountains present volcanic appear-

ances, and rise precipitously as far as Balaklava the (Bella-chiava of the Genoese, and the Symbolon of Strabo), whose harbour is good though small. The town is situated on the east side of the harbour at the extremity of the mountain Sinab Dagħ, or Aïa Dagħ, which the ancients called Trapezus, from the flatness of its top. It has a promontory jutting out into the sea, which was anciently designated Criumetopon (Cape Kirkinies). Further on, near Simeus, the precipitous mountains record by their appearance great internal commotions of the earth at a very remote age.

Then comes Aloupka, a small town situated upon enormous fragments of rock, and having the remains of a small Greek fort. The falling of the masses of rock towards the sea at this spot is very remarkable.

Next are Kürsüv (Gurzabiteses), fortified by the Emperor Justinian, a town whose ruins are seen on the summit of a rock projecting into the sea; and Yalta—situated on a lofty cape—an ancient Greek colony, at present inhabited by a few Tartar families.

A little further, following the coast, is Parthenitus, formerly a commercial town, and the birth-

place of St. John, Bishop of Gothland. Here are the remains of a temple, and some ruined columns.

Then comes Little Lampas, which has a pretty harbour surrounded by high rocks, and exhibits evidences of earthquakes in former times; and Aloushta (Phourion), at the foot of the Tchatir-dagh—where are the ruins of a Greek fortress, and whence may be obtained a magnificent view of the whole Crimean peninsula, spread out at the spectator's feet.

The Great Lampas follows. Here Justinian built another fortress. The Sinab Dagħ here falls to the level of the sea, and forms a valley which is sheltered from the north by ridges of mountains, ranged behind it.

The interrupted chain of the Sinab Dagħ is resumed at Oustiuk. Two conical rocks here form a passage for the wind, which blows with such violence on its way to the sea that it was supposed to form the cave of Boreas, which ancient geographers placed on this coast.

Next is Aïa-dagħ, another promontory, anciently called Corax—near Soudak (Cytæum, a town formerly of some importance, situated on a high mountain. The vine is, and has always

been, much cultivated at Aïa-dagh, and the place is remarkable for its excellent wine. The town has a mosque, and the ruins of a Genoese castle.

The Oustiuk range of mountains is broken here, but rises again and extends to Theodosia, which is situated on a mountain which descends in the form of a promontory to the sea, where it forms a harbour in which ships find shelter from every wind except that from the east. The little river of Istnanus flows by the walls of this city. To the east and north stretches the plain of Kertch; and the Tauric ridge still continues to border the sea, but at a less elevation than before.

At Kertch there is a spacious harbour, having an entrance to the south. The coast from this place to Ak-burnu is very precipitous, and there is no landing elsewhere than in the vicinity of these two towns. The waters of the Sea of Asoff run between this coast and the island of Taman, which is formed by sands in the mouth of the Kuban River (*Var-danus*, also *Hypanis fluv.*), which flows from the north, along the Caucasian ridge, whence it has its source. To the south of the promontory (C. Takli), at the entrance of the strait is Nymphæa, having a convenient port.

On the summit of one of the Tauric mountains, is Inkerman, or Doros, the Ctenos of Strabo, equi-distant from Balaklava and Sebastopol. To the east is the fortress of Neapolis, and, further on, the ruins of Mangoub or Mancoup. To the south-east of Inkerman is the village of Beikiman built on a clayey soil, sometimes used by the inhabitants instead of soap, or rather as an adjunct.*

The position of Simpheropol, the modern capital (Akmesjid), and of Bakshi-serai, the ancient metropolis of Crim Tartary, are well known.

At the mouth of the river Kuban, besides Taman, is another island, Atschoviev (Achilla); which was attached to the mainland, till Pharnaces formed a canal leading the waters of the Kuban river into the Sea of Asoff, through the plains inhabited by his enemies, the Dardanians, whom he thus inundated.

The peninsula of Kertch, formerly called Cimmeria, is considerably raised above the level of the two seas that surround it. The plain extending from Kaffa (Theodosia) to Kertch (Panticapæum) and the promontory of Arabat, though arid, has very fine springs of water. A few salt lakes are also to be met with, which do not communicate

* See Appendix, 'Kief-gil.'

with the sea. Over this plain lie scattered many tumuli, supposed to be the tombs of the early chiefs of the country; and which have formed matter for much conjecture—many having been opened and found empty. By some it has been supposed that they were originally raised to form a point whence sentinels could descry an advancing enemy, who might otherwise, in so level a country, approach unseen.*

The island of Taman, although forming part of the Tauric ridge, and somewhat elevated, has several small lakes that communicate with the river Kuban. Its harbour to the west, on which stood Phanagoria, opposite Panticapæum, is shallow, but affords a safe anchorage.

This short preliminary notice of the geography of the places we shall have occasion to mention, is inserted here to obviate the necessity of introducing geographical descriptions in the course of our history.

* I am inclined to believe also that the so-called grave-hills or tumuli (the *mohilli* or *kurgan* of the natives), and the stone steppe-monuments of the earlier inhabitants have, for the most part, the same purpose (that of pointing out the direction of the road). On the north coast of the Black Sea I always found that the tumuli and steppe-stones had a precise direction from east to west.—“Die Krim und Odessa,” von Prof. Dr. Karl Koch, p. 216. Leipz. 1854.

CHAPTER I.

THE MYTHOLOGICAL PERIOD.

THE origin of the earliest inhabitants of the Taurica Chersonesus is lost in obscurity, for history is silent with reference to the first migrations of man.

The name may have originated from the word Toïra, 'a mountain.' The people dwelling nearest to that immense chain which encircled the ancient world would probably be called Tauri; and the peninsula, bounded by that mountain range, Taurica Chersonesus.

Before the countries of the globe had received any denomination, it was naturally suggested to man to divide the earth into four quarters; and of these four the Western quarter was called Celtic. All the districts between the Baltic and the Euxine were occupied by Celts, and the inhabitants of this sub-division of the West were generally called Gauls. For many centuries the primary origin of the European nations was considered to be Celtic.

This immense branch of the human race was

divided into tribes and families. One, under the name of Cimmerians,* occupied the Tauric peninsula; and it was here, as Herodotus tells us, that the Scythians (who came to Europe long after) attacked the Cimmerians, and drove them to Asia Minor—‘to where may now be seen the great town of Sinope.’

Among the fables of mythology we find that a Queen of the Amazons, in the remote ages of time, had extended the boundary of her dominions from the river Tanais to the Danube.

Although we cannot attempt to discuss the mythical account of the Amazons—who were regarded as a real historical race down to a late period, but whose existence is doubted by Strabo, while Diodorus attempts seriously to give an account of them—it may be as well to relate the fact that they were supposed to have established the worship of Artemis (Diana) in various parts;

* When Herodotus talks of the Cimmerians, on whom the sun never shone, he could not have meant those who had inhabited the Crimea and, as he tells us, had been driven out of it. He must have referred rather to the Chersonesus of Jutland, where the climate is comparatively frigid. We say comparatively, because we believe that the effect of the bright sky, obscured as it is in these latitudes, must, to an Eastern, appear as total darkness. So it was to an Italian who, writing from London to one of his friends, requested him to pay his respects to the Sun (‘Salutate me il sole.’) which (according to his ideas) he had not seen for some time.

and, as we find that Artemis was worshipped in the Chersonesus at this early period, we will relate, as succinctly as possible, the amusing tale Herodotus gives.* The Amazons originally came from the Caucasus, and the warlike appearance of the women of those mountains gave rise to absurd exaggerations of their characteristics, and to the fabulous tales that were circulated of them. Having been conquered by the Greeks in the neighbourhood of Trebizond, they were made prisoners and carried to the Greek fleet, which set sail with its precious freight. Taking advantage, however, of the want of vigilance in those who were appointed to guard them, the heroines of the Caucasus seized their arms at night, and killed every man on board. They are then said to have landed on the European shores of the Sea of Asoff (Palus Mæotis) where the Scythians occupied the country, and made war with various success against their new neighbours, until they were discovered to be women; when the Scythians took advantage of the feminine tenderness which was still concealed under the

* [B.C. 1475].—Herodotus tells us that the conquests of Sesostris in Asia extended to the banks of the Danube. May he not, then, be supposed to have set foot in the Chersonesus, and to have passed a winter there on the south coast?

rough exterior of the soldier, and made love to them so successfully that desertions from the camp of the Amazons became frequent. Ultimately it was agreed to discontinue a war which had ceased to have an object, and peace was celebrated by the marriage of the two armies. Having learned the language of their Scythian husbands, the Amazons persuaded them to emigrate into Asia, to the north-east of the Sea of Asoff, having previously established a temple to the worship of Artemis.

[1392 B.C.] The tale of Jason and the Argonauts recalls associations of the Crimea, but it has not been, we think, clearly proved that the expedition landed there. On the contrary, Jason and his followers must have coasted the southern shore of the Euxine, touching at the country of the Zittariandyni, where they were kindly received by the king, Lycus, till they reached Colchis, where the love that Jason inspired in Medea, daughter of Aëtes, the king of that country, enabled him to gain from her instruction by which he succeeded in ploughing a piece of land with an adamantine plough, drawn by fire-breathing oxen; that being the condition on which Aëtes had promised to deliver up the Golden Fleece. The Ram

who wore this Fleece was designated by the name of Chrysomallis (*lit.* Golden-hair), and called a son of Poseidon and Theophane, the daughter of Brisaltes, in the island of Crumissa (?) * By means of magic, Medea threw the Dragon who guarded the Golden Fleece into a deep sleep, and Jason, having thus taken possession of the coveted treasure, embarked at night with Medea and his Argonauts.

From Colchis they are represented in some traditions as sailing up the river Tanais into the Northern Ocean, and coasting the northern countries of Europe. This would give rise to the associations which have been referred to ; but, if the Tanais mentioned were the river Don, which flows into the Sea of Asoff, the Argonauts must have returned from Colchis by descending that sea ; and this is the route Herodotus supposes them to have taken.

If the tradition of the Argonauts, however, have any historical foundation, it would seem to imply that a trade in valuable furs (and perhaps a kind of silky white-woolled sheep from Persia), was carried on with countries north-east of the Euxine by the subjects of Minos, 1642 years B.C. ; and

* Hyginus, fab. 188.



SITE OF THE ANCIENT TEMPLE OF IPHIGENIA : NEAR THE MONASTERY OF ST. GEORGE.

such mercantile speculations in the Euxine may have given rise to the story about the Argonauts.

[B.C. 1250.] Thoas, the son of Borysthenes, seems to have been of Greek origin, and to have been cast on the coast of the Crimea, where, by his superior talent, he acquired an influence over the inhabitants that eventually made him King of the country. But he had not, it seems, sufficient power to prevent the bloody human sacrifices, which those barbarians, like many others in different parts of the world, had been accustomed to offer in honour of a goddess whom the Greeks identified with their own Goddess Diana (Artemis). Her statue was believed to have fallen from heaven on this spot, where a magnificent temple was built to enshrine it.

The story of Iphigenia, and of her father Agamemnon—which has been rendered “familiar in our mouths as household words,” by the genius of the fathers of the Greek Tragic Drama, not unworthily followed in later times by the classical Racine—forms a romantic episode in the history of Taurida. Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ and Argos, and brother of Menelæus, king of Sparta, was one of the principal instigators of the Trojan war, and had, at the birth of Iphigenia, made a rash vow

that he would sacrifice to Diana the most beautiful thing which the year might bring forth. He had assembled a fleet in the port of Aulis, which was detained by Diana from sailing for Troy by calms and contrary winds. The seer Calchas declared that the sacrifice of Iphigenia was the only means of propitiating the offended Goddess. To this sacrifice Agamemnon at length consented ; but the Goddess, substituting some animal in her stead, carried off Iphigenia in a cloud to Tauris, and made her a priestess of her temple there. The Greek fleet then set sail, and soon arrived before Troy ; and Agamemnon, after performing prodigies of valour during the long siege of Troy, on its final capture, returned to Mycenæ : and was shortly after murdered by Ægisthus, to whom he had, on his departure, confided the care of his family. It is related that Ægisthus was encouraged and assisted by Clytemnestra, the wife of Agamemnon. Orestes, son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, revenged the death of his father by slaying Ægisthus and Clytemnestra ; but becoming afterwards full of remorse at having caused his mother's death, consulted the oracle of Apollo, who advised him to go to Tauris, and bring away from the Temple of Diana the statue of the goddess above

mentioned. In pursuance of this decree of the oracle, Orestes, accompanied by his friend Pylades, set sail for Tauris, of which Thoas was then king; and, on landing, were seized by the inhabitants, to be offered as a sacrifice to Diana, according to the custom of the country, which condemned all strangers cast on their shores to this hard fate.

Iphigenia, the sister of Orestes, whom, as we have seen, had been carried away some years previously, was then priestess at the temple of Diana, and it was her office to immolate these strangers. Hearing that they were Greeks, she delayed preparations, and requested one of them to be the bearer of letters to her native country; by which means his life would be saved. Upon this, a contest arose between the friends (between whom existed that close intimacy, which has since served to symbolise sincere friendship), as to who should stay; each being desirous to save the life of the other at the expense of his own. It was a difficult trial; at length Pylades gave way to the entreaties of his friend, and consented to be the bearer of Iphigenia's letters. These being addressed to her brother Orestes, an explanation soon took place; and Iphigenia, having made the discovery that the person she was called upon to immolate

was her brother, resolved to fly from the Chersonesus ; and, at the desire of Orestes, to carry away the statue of Diana, to obtain which he had undertaken the voyage. They killed King Thoas, and fled with the statue, which they brought to Greece, whose chief cities long disputed the honour of becoming its possessors. On his return, Orestes went to Delphi, to offer thanks to Apollo ; and there his sister Electra had also come to consult the oracle upon the false report that had reached her of his having been sacrificed to Diana, in Tauris. She had even heard that it was Iphigenia who had immolated him. Enraged at this, and meeting her sister in the temple, she snatched a firebrand from the altar, with the intention of putting out Iphigenia's eyes ; when Orestes, coming forward, made himself known.

Everything being thus cleared up, they returned to Mycenæ, where Orestes killed Aletro, the usurper of his father's throne, and reigned in Argos. He gave Electra in marriage to his friend Pylades. The two friends received divine honors from the Scythians, and were worshipped in temples, which would imply a liberality on their part, worthy of imitation in one respect ; they admired

virtue even in their enemies, and were led to deify those possessed of qualities which met with their admiration.

Iphigenia afterwards became a priestess of Diana in her native country, and after her death received divine honours.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY RACES OF MAN IN THE CRIMEA,
ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS.

IN the time of Herodotus, the Crimea still retained the name of Cimmeria; and he mentions the chief town (now called Krim), under the name of Cimmerium, and refers to it as the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which he calls the ferry "Porthmos." But the Cimmerians (or Scythians) belong partly to legend, partly to history. They appear to have been a nomad people (with the exception of a few who remained in the mountainous parts of the Crimea)—'mare-milkers,' moving about with their tents and herds, and leading a life suitable to the nature of those steppes which their territory presented, and which offered herbage in profusion.

[B.C. 594.] It was in the time of Gnuros, son of Lycus, who reigned over these Scythians, that a youth named Anacharsis, a Scythian of royal blood, was sent to Athens for his education by his mother, a Greek, married to a certain

Cadrestes, who was brother-in-law to the King of Persia. This Anacharsis is not the one whom the Abbé Barthélemy made to travel through Greece some two centuries later, B.C. 363 to B.C. 337. The first Anacharsis was co-temporary with Solon, who honoured him with his friendship and went with him to Corinth. There he was invited to a banquet of sages ; and, when they ridiculed him for refusing to drink wine, Anacharsis said, ‘ I have sometimes, in contemplating a drunken man, thought that the vine must bear three kinds of raisins—that which gives satisfaction in eating, that which causes drunkenness, and that which causes thereby suffering.’

Anacharsis had a profound knowledge of the human mind, and he often smiled at the refined reasoning of political economy. He used to say that kings were like spiders, who caught nothing but flies. Touching the existence of a Supreme Being, Anacharsis said, ‘ How can there exist in nature that wonderful order which we find in the universe, were it not for Him who directs all the elements according to his power and will. The bow is not more docile in the hands of a Scythian, or the lyre in that of a Greek, than all secondary causes in the hands of the Creator.’

He returned to his native land in the hope of being able to render himself useful to his country by the knowledge he had acquired in travel, but was killed by an arrow shot by Saulios, the successor and brother of Gnuros, in the forest of Holys, (near the Course of Achilles,* now called Kilburnu), where he was sacrificing in secret to Cybele. Anacharsis recognised in the arrow that pierced his heart the weapon of jealousy, and cried as he expired, 'Wisdom, which was my safeguard in Greece, is the cause of my death in Scythia.'

We believe the denomination of Scythian to have been generic. The ancients were accustomed to call 'Scythians,' all barbarous nations with whom they were not acquainted. They denominated the Ethiopians, Scythians of the south; the Indians, Scythians of the south-east; the Celts, Scythians of the north-west. Indeed we frequently see in history that the tribes little known to the inhabitants of the south of Europe

* Dromus Achilles, a promontory near the mouth of the Borysthenes (the river Dnieper.) Achilles, having entered the Euxine with a hostile fleet, ravaged the coast, landed on this promontory, and exercised himself and his followers in running and other gymnastic sports. It is a low, sandy, and uninhabited neck of land, resembling somewhat a sword in its shape. Strabo says it is 1,000 stadia long; Pliny makes it 80 miles in length.

have received this generic name. The Sarmatians, the Bulgarians, Kazars, Krobates, Herules, the Huns, the Lehs or Poles, the Russians, the Serbes, Slaves, Tartars, Taurians, Turks, Uzbecs, etc., have all fallen under this appellation, because they came from the north, a country little known except under the name of Scythia. Late ethnological researches have proved them to have migrated from the plains of Hindostan, whence they have been termed Hindo-Germanic races, of which so many branches exist in Europe. Of their antiquity, however, there is no doubt, as we find that even in 1375, B.C., Ninus, King of Assyria, had to contend with these warriors, who claimed a tribute which had been levied by them for fifteen centuries.

It was a branch descended from these Scythians, inhabiting the western coast of the Caspian, who, being persecuted by another branch (the Massagetes), passed the Don and came into the Chersonesus, driving out the Cimmerians, as already stated: whilst others of their nation settled to the north of the Isthmus, and extended their possessions to the Danube.* Some of these have

* Herodotus tells us an amusing story with regard to the Scythians who took possession of the Chersonesus. Having been

been called Sarmatians, and afterwards found their way also into the Chersonesus, 380 B.C.

[B.C. 305.] Quintus Curtius tells us that Alexander received ambassadors from the Taurica Chersonesus, whose insinuating and polished manners contrasted with the rudeness of the Asiatic Scythians. They were more like the Greeks, with whom they had been in communication some centuries, and who had settled on their coast. They requested him to grant his friendship to their king, and offered him their monarch's daughter in marriage; and begged him, at least, to allow his followers to take the daughters of their

absent more than fifteen years from the Chersonesus in a war of aggression against Cyaxares, King of Media, who killed their king, Lycus, and many of their chiefs, by first intoxicating them; they had returned home, when, to their surprise, they found the isthmus was fortified by a strange people whom they did not at first recognize. These were no others than the descendants of the aborigines by their wives, who had given up all hopes of their return, and had married their own slaves. Astonished at the resistance that a handful of men could make behind the entrenchments, they were indignant at the obstacle, when one of them proposed to use another system of operations, the whip. "Let us not," said he, "kill any more of these slaves, unworthy of bearing arms against us, because we shall be ourselves the losers: rather let us treat them as they deserve, with the whip, which kept their fathers in subjection." Suiting the action to the word, the Scythians, following his advice, soon drove the frightened lads from the trench and re-entered the Chersonesus!—Herod. c. iv. p. 355. Many of the new race, taking alarm at such treatment, crossed the Bosphorus into the Sindica, on the Asiatic side, and formed a kingdom under the name of Aorses.

principal chiefs. Alexander dismissed them kindly, without making any rash promises, his attention being then called to the south.

Herodotus divides the Scythians into seven different races. The Amyrgites, Auchates, Georgoi (who lived on the fruits of the earth), Avolgroi (who ploughed the ground), the Nomades, the Royal, and the Eastern Scythians. The first were inhabitants of Asia; the second lived on the border of the River Hypanis (Bog), in Podolia; the third occupied the Crimea from the banks of the 'Borysthenes (Dnieper) to Panticapæum,' and styled themselves Olbeopolites, from the name of their chief city: they lived on the fruits of the earth. The fourth lived between the Dniester and the River Bog, to the south-west of the Auchates. The fifth lived to the West of the Crimea, probably on the shores of Circassia, as far as the River Gerrhus.* (?) The sixth, the Royal Scythians, lived to the east of the latter river, and north of the Crimea, probably the country since occupied by the Cozars or Kazars, extending to the east and north of the Palus Mæotis (Sea of Asoff). The

* Herodotus, according to Major Rennel, places it at too great a distance from the Bosphorus—that is, 14 days' journey. See 'Geographical System of Herodotus Examined and Explained,' page 66.

seventh appear to have branched off from the Royal Scythians, and to have gone to the north-east of them, towards the sources of the river Tanais.

It is remarkable that the Scythians, so far from being desirous, as other nations were, of establishing the great antiquity of their origin, pretended, according to Herodotus, that they had not in his time existed 'for more than 1,000 years,' and this would give them the date of 1,508 B.C. according to their own calculation, but according to Herodotus 1,354 B.C. 'All these people,' says the Greek historian, 'were called Scolotes, after the name of their king; but the Greeks have chosen to give them the name of Scythians.'

Herodotus distinguishes between the Scythians and the Cimmerians, for he says that the nomad Scythians, inhabitants of Asia, overpowered by the Massagetes, passed the Araxes, and came into Cimmeria; 'for,' he adds, 'the country now in the hands of the Scythians appertained formerly, it is said, to the Cimmerians.' This would be establishing an antiquity of the Cimmerians, as primary inhabitants of the Crimea, equal, if not anterior, to that of the Scythians, or B.C. 1,500.

Herodotus places the Sauromates or Sarmatians

to the north of the Palus Mæotis ; and his description of another people in the north-east of Asia bears a great resemblance to that of the Calmuk-Tartars—‘they have flat noses and long chins,’ ‘they have a separate language of their own, but dress like the Scythians.’ He describes them as harmless and peaceful, living in tents made of felt.

Speaking of the cold* in Scythia, Herodotus tells us that ‘*the Scythians of Chersonesus, who live on the inner side of the trench* (at Perekop), traverse the Bosphorus on the ice with their chariots in order to go over to the country of the Indians’ ; and we shall see that, in more modern times, the distance between the two shores was measured by a Russian Voivod.

* Herodotus seriously tells us that he thinks that the cold stopped the growth of the horns on the heads of the cattle in Scythia ; and he quotes Homer in support of this opinion, that these grew faster in Lybia than elsewhere !

CHAPTER III.

THE GREEK COLONIES IN THE CHERSONESUS.

THE Milesians, inhabitants of Miletus, the most celebrated of the cities of Ionia, were early masters of the sea, when the cities of the parent country were but just beginning to emerge from obscurity. Their prosperity was chiefly due to their active and widely extended commerce; and as far back as 700 years B.C. their ships had found their way through the Euxine to that land of abundance, the Taurica Chersonesus. They settled on the coast, and took possession of the peninsula of Kertsch, driving out the Scythian inhabitants. The commercial and agricultural prosperity of these early Milesian settlements attracted other Greeks, such as the Lydians, Carians, Clazomenians, Mæonians, etc., and will furnish a reason why the mother country found means and population for the establishment of so many colonies (whose number Pliny makes

out to have been eighty, and Seneca seventy-five, including those on the shores of the Euxine and on the distant coast of Spain).

The migration of the Greeks into the Euxine gradually became more and more frequent during the last half of the 7th century, B.C. Heraclea, Chersonesus, and Theodosia, on the southern coast, and south-western corner of the Peninsula: Panticapæum and the Teïan colony of Phanagoria (so called after Phanagoras, a Teïan, who, flying from the tyranny of the Persians, founded it), on the European and Asiatic sides of the Cimmerian Bosphorus respectively: and Kepi, Hermonassa (so named after Hermonassa, the wife of an Æolian, a native of Mitylene, who, with a colony of Æolians, founded the city at the same time as Phanagoras), not far from Phanagoria, to the south of it, at the mouth of the river Kuban, on the Asiatic coast of the Euxine: and, last of all, there was, even at the extremity of the Palus Mæotis (Sea of Asoff), the Grecian settlement of Tanais.*

All, or most of these, seem to have been founded

* This city, at the mouth of the Tanais (the river Don), is celebrated in tradition by the Slavonians under the name of Aasgrad, or the city of Aas; and it is remarkable to find the name of Asoff subsisting on the same site.

during the course of the 6th century, B.C., though the precise dates of most of them cannot be specified, probably several of them were anterior to the time of the mystic poet Aristeas of Prokonnesus [B.C. 540.] His long voyage—from the Sea of Asoff into the interior of Asia—would imply a habitual intercourse between the Greeks and the Scythians, which could not well have existed without the prior Greek colonies on the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

The Heraclides—who claimed the honor of being descended from Hercules, by his son Hyllus—after much wandering and vicissitude, had succeeded in becoming undisputed masters of the Peloponesus in the year 1104 B.C., and were now so powerful that, in company with the Delians, inhabitants of Delos, in the Ægean Sea (celebrated for the quantity of all kinds of game it contained, and which had become a place of great commercial importance, in consequence of the ingress of many Corinthian merchants, who had been banished from their city by Cypselus, B.C. 659), established colonies on the western coast of the Crimea, following the example of the Milesians. They crossed over from Pontis Heraclia, and landed on the southern point of the promontory; founding, on the little peninsula of Trachea, on a spot near the

modern town of Sebastopol, a city which bore the name of Chersonesus, and which remained, by reason of its local advantages, great and prosperous for more than 1,500 years.

Whilst the Heraclians were consolidating their power and improving their commercial advantages, the Milesian settlements in the Bosphorus were growing up with magic rapidity, and were spreading even beyond the strait to the Asiatic coast, where the towns of Phanagoria and Hermonassa were founded.

The denomination of Bosphorus is confined to two straits—the Thracian, now the strait of Constantinople; and the Cimmerian, the strait of Kaffa or Theodosia, which separates the Chersonesus from the Island of Taman, on the Asiatic shore. Various reasons are assigned for this name. The mythical one is that Io, when transformed by Jupiter into an ox, swam across these straits in the course of her wanderings over the world. Others have said that the first voyage through them was made in a vessel, on the prow of which was the figure of an ox; hence the strait was called *Βοσπορος*, ‘Bos-porus’ or ‘the Passage of the Ox.’

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST KINGS OF THE BOSPORUS,

FROM B.C. 502 TO B.C. 112.

Panticapæum, the capital of a Greek kingdom which existed for several centuries, was founded by a colony of Milesians, under a son of Aëtes, King of Colchis, father of Medea, 1250 B.C., on the spot now occupied by the town of Kertsch. The Milesian settlements on the Island of Taman, on the opposite shore of the strait called Bosporus Cimmerius (now the strait of Yeni-kalé), were of the same origin, and the people on both sides of the strait were called Bosporians. At first these colonies were independent of each other; but, in process of time, they became united into one kingdom under the dynasty of the Archæanactidæ, which lasted twenty-two years, from B.C. 502 to B.C. 480.

The first king of the Archæanactidæ had established himself at Hermonassa, on the left

bank of the river Kuban, opposite the Island of Taman. It was from this place that he extended his power and took Panticapæum, which then became the capital of the Kings of the Bosphorus, and which was, on this account, sometimes called Bosphorus. Thus the dominions of the Kings of the Bosphorus were on each side of the strait, partly in Europe and partly in Asia.

Spartacus I. then succeeded to the sovereign power. He was one of those kings whom Strabo calls Tyrants (*τυραννος*—*i.e.* one whose authority is self-established). He reigned 42 years, until B.C. 438, when he was succeeded by Seleucus. Diodorus [xii. 31—36] does not tell us if he was the son or brother of Spartacus. Nothing is known of him except that his power lasted four years.

An interval of twenty years now ensues, of the history of which no record has come down to us.

[B.C. 407.] Satyrus ascended the throne, and reigned fourteen years. He fixed his residence at Phanagoria, on the Asiatic side, opposite Panticapæum. While engaged in besieging Theodosia (Kaffa), another Milesian colony, he was duped by a stratagem of his antagonist, Tynnichus, who, being unable to compete with the Bosphorians openly, collected a number of boats which

he caused to be filled by bands playing martial music, and thereby induced Satyrus to raise the siege, under the impression that a strong reinforcement had arrived to the assistance of the enemy. Satyrus died during the siege, and was succeeded by his son Leucon,* who conquered Theodosia. He entered into close alliance with the Athenians, whom he supplied with vast quantities of corn, so that we see the agricultural prosperity of the Chersonesus began in the remote ages of comparative uncertainty in history. The Athenians, grateful for his efforts to supply them with grain, voted to him three statues. Diodorus and Strabo make honourable mention of him, and go far to prove that he was a wise and powerful prince. Theodosia, which, as we have seen, was founded by the Milesians in early times, had long prospered as an independent colony. It was now incorporated into the kingdom of the Bosphorus, and shared its destinies.

[B.C. 353.] Leucon reigned forty years, and was

* Leucon, finding that his troops did not fight as he wished, brought into his legions Scythians, whose business it was to stand behind his soldiers, with orders to charge them if they saw them giving way! He made himself master of the whole of the Chersonesus, reigned with moderation, and encouraged agriculture in a country where wheat returns 30 grains of produce for one of seed.

succeeded by his son, Spartacus II. who died B.C. 348, leaving the kingdom to his son Parysades, who reigned thirty-eight years. No events of the reign of Parysades have been recorded, except that we find him (apparently about B.C. 333) engaged in a war with the neighbouring Scythians; and he appears to have maintained the same friendly relations with the Athenians which his grandfather Leucon had established. We are told that he was a mild and equitable ruler, much beloved by his subjects, and that he obtained divine honors after his death. He was cotemporary with Alexander the Great. He left three sons, Satyrus, Eumelus, and Prytanis.

[B.C. 310.] Satyrus II. was appointed by his father to succeed him; but the second son, Eumelus, contested the crown with his brother, and had recourse to the assistance of Ariparnes, king of one of the neighbouring Scythian tribes, who supported him with a large army. Satyrus, however, defeated their combined forces, and followed up his advantage by laying siege to the capital (probably the modern Yeni-kalé) of Ariparnes; but, while leading the assault, he was mortally wounded, and died, after having

occupied the throne barely nine months. Prytanis, who had been left by Satyrus in charge of the capital city of Panticapæum during the campaign, assumed the sovereign power on the death of his elder brother, but was compelled to cede the throne to his brother Eumelus. He attempted to recover the government, and was defeated and put to death by order of Eumelus, together with his wife and children. Eumelus reigned prosperously for five years and five months, from B.C. 309 to B.C. 304. He died from the effects of a fall from his chariot, while returning from an expedition against the Scythians, and was succeeded by his son, Spartacus IV., who reigned twenty years, from B.C. 304 to B.C. 284. He was succeeded by Parysades II., the last of the monarchs of this dynasty, and probably a descendant of Prytanis, the third son of Leucon; but the history of the kingdom of the Bosphorus during the period previous to his reign^o has been wholly lost. We only know that the pressure of the Scythian tribes from without at length induced Parysades [B.C. 112] voluntarily to cede his sovereignty to Mithridates the Great.

CHAPTER V.

KINGS OF THE BOSPORUS UNDER
MITHRIDATES THE GREAT,

B.C. 112 TO B.C. 65.

Mithridates Eupator claims the title of "Great" by the same right as the Czar Peter of Russia, whom he resembles in many particulars. As king of Pontus, he had been brought up at Sinope, where he received the elements of a Greek education, and is said to have learned no less than twenty-five languages, and to have been able to transact business with the deputies of every tribe subject to his rule in their own peculiar dialect. He conquered the barbarian tribes who harassed Lesser Armenia and Colchis, and extended his power beyond the Caucasus, where he reduced to subjection some of the wild Scythian tribes that bordered on the Tanais (the Don).

Parysades II., King of the Bosphorus, gladly availed himself of his aid to ward off the attacks of the northern barbarians, and Mithridates sent his generals, Diophanus and Neoptolemus, who carried his victorious arms from the Tanais (Don) to the Tyras (Dniester), and rendered the whole of the Tauric Chersonesus tributary to the Kingdom of Pontus. The rising greatness of Mithridates gave umbrage to the Romans; his ambition led him to covet and overrun the whole of Asia Minor, and he laid siege to the Island of Rhodes, but being unable to take it, he resigned the command of his army to one of his generals, and took up his abode at Pergamus, whence he issued that sanguinary order to the cities of Asia to massacre in one day all the Roman or Italian inhabitants; an order which was gladly obeyed, and by which upwards of 100,000 persons were sacrificed to the vengeance of the Greeks. During the first Mithridatic war his attention was chiefly turned against his too powerful enemies, the Romans; but symptoms of disaffection beginning to manifest themselves at Colchis and in the Bosphorus, he assembled a military and naval force for the reduction of the revolted provinces. This excited the suspicions of the Romans, who again attacked him

under Murena. Mithridates, however, was victorious, and concluded a second peace with the Romans. He was thus enabled to undertake the reduction of the Bosphorus, which he successfully accomplished,—establishing Machares, one of his sons, as Regent of the country, B.C. 82.

We will not stop to relate all the misfortunes and successes of Mithridates in his contest with Rome. Passing to the year B.C. 65, we find him flying before Pompey, and making his way at the head of a small army into the heart of Colchis, where, levying some troops, and assembling a small fleet, he—partly by force and partly by persuasion—succeeded in effecting his passage through the various tribes that occupied the Caucasus, until he reached Phanagoria. His son Machares—to whom he had confided the government of these regions, but who had long before submitted to Lucullus, the Roman General—fled on his approach;* and Mithridates established himself without opposition in the capital of the Bosphorus. Secure in

* Machares, on the approach of his father, fled to the city of Chersonesus, where he soon after, despairing of pardon for having deserted his father's cause, put an end to his own life. He had ordered all the ships which he could not carry off to be burned, in order to prevent pursuit. But Mithridates sent some of his own ships after him.

this retreat, he was emboldened to send ambassadors to Pompey; who, however, insisted that he should come himself. Mithridates refused, the negotiations were broken off, and while Pompey succeeded in reducing Pontus to a Roman province, its King commenced extensive preparations for a renewal of the contest. His design was to conduct an army round the north and west coast of the Euxine, through the country inhabited by the wild tribes of the Scythians and Getæ, on whose hostility to Rome he relied for assistance.

He was engaged in assembling an army and a fleet of great magnitude for this enterprise, when a violent earthquake overthrew whole towns and villages in the Crimea; and he was further delayed in his preparation by a long and painful illness which incapacitated him for personal exertion. At length he found himself at the head of an army of 36,000 men and a considerable fleet. But dissatisfaction had made some progress among his followers, who were alarmed at the extent of his scheme, and were not disposed to follow him in so desperate an enterprise.

In this state of things, Phanagoria revolted. The sons of Mithridates, who held the citadel, were compelled to surrender to the insurgents; and the

flame of insurrection soon spread to other cities in the Taurica Chersonesus. Still the spirit of the old King was unbroken, and he endeavoured to secure the assistance of the Scythian chieftains by offering them his daughters in marriage. A more formidable conspiracy was now organized by Pharnaces, the favourite son of Mithridates, and whom he had declared his heir. His designs were discovered, and his accomplices put to death; but Pharnaces, availing himself of his personal immunity from punishment, broke into open insurrection. He was joined by the army and the citizens of Panticapæum,* who unanimously proclaimed him king; and Mithridates, who had taken refuge in a strong tower, endeavoured to destroy himself by poison. But his constitution had been so long inured to antidotes that the poison did not produce the desired effect, and he was compelled to call in the assistance of one of the Gaulish mercenaries, who, at his urgent request, dispatched him with his sword.

* This place—which, as we have already observed, has also been called Bosporus, as the capital of the kings of that name—was flourishing during the time of Demosthenes, 385 B.C. It was opposite Phanagoria, which is on the Asiatic shore. Ptolemy describes it as lying on a hill, twenty stadia in circumference. On the east side was a good harbour, and also an inner and safer one. It now bears the name of Kertsch.

Thus perished Mithridates, B.C. 63; and such was the dread of his name that his death was regarded by the Romans as equivalent to a great victory. His body was sent by Pharnaces to Pompey, at Amisus, in token of his defeat; and the generous Roman caused it to be interred with regal honours in the sepulchre of the Kings of Pontus, at Sinope. Notwithstanding his Greek education and habits, Mithridates presents all the characteristics of a genuine Eastern despot. We have compared him to Peter I. of Russia; but it may be as well to say that it is not in his misfortunes that the resemblance lies, but rather in the undaunted spirit and energy with which he rose superior to misfortune, ever ready to re-commence the struggle against his enemies. Among his numerous wives there was one, Hypsicratea, who accompanied him in all his campaigns, and shared with him every danger and privation: and, to complete the resemblance we have ventured to draw, he caused the execution of several of his sons for various and often trivial causes. He was also a great patron of the arts; and, among the vast treasures accumulated at Cabira, were many valuable pictures and statues and a fine collection of intaglios.

CHAPTER VI.

KINGS OF THE BOSPORUS,

FROM PHARNACES (B.C. 63) TO POLEMON (A.D. 48).

[B.C. 63.] Pharnaces, in order to secure himself in the possession of the throne which he had thus gained by parricide, sent an embassy to Pompey, who was in Syria, with offers of submission. His overtures were readily accepted, and he was granted the kingdom of the Bosphorus, with the title of Friend and Ally of the Roman people. Pompey had excepted Phanagoria, which, being on the Island of Taman on the Asiatic coast opposite Panticapæum, he had declared a free city. Pharnaces, availing himself of the dissensions between Cæsar and Pompey, subjected this city to his dominion, and then turned his arms against Colchis and Lesser Armenia, resolved to reinstate

himself in his father's wide dominions. Leaving Asander, to whom he had given his sister Dynamis in marriage, in charge of the kingdom of the Bosphorus, he overran those countries, defeating the combined forces of the Roman generals and of Deiotarus, King of Lesser Armenia, and took possession of Sinope and Amisus. But Cæsar soon after utterly defeated him near Zelu; and, having taken refuge at Sinope, he proceeded by sea to Bosphorus. Here he had to assemble an army of Scythians to attack Asander, who had revolted in his absence. He regained possession of Theodosia and Panticapæum, but was ultimately defeated and slain by Asander [B.C. 47], who now hoped to win the kingdom for himself. Cæsar, however, commanded Mithridates of Pergamus, on whom he conferred the title of King of the Bosphorus, to make war against Asander, who, however, vanquished him, and had the address to maintain himself upon the throne until he induced Augustus to allow him to assume the title of King instead of that of Ethnarch.* Asander, at the advanced age of ninety-three, died of voluntary starvation, from grief at seeing his troops desert to Scribonius, B.C. 16.

* See Cary's 'History of the Kings of the Bosphorus,' page 3.

Strabo speaks of a well or ditch which Asander constructed across the isthmus of the Crimea to protect the peninsula from the incursions of the nomadic tribes. This is, no doubt, the same as Taphræ (Perekop) already mentioned. Thus we see that the whole of the Chersonesus was brought under the sway of the Kings of the Bosporus.

Scribonius married Dynamis, the widow of Asander, but was, it appears, an impostor, who, pretending to be descended from Mithridates, usurped the kingdom of Bosporus. His deception being discovered, he was put to death by the enraged multitude.

[B.C. 13—12]. Polemon I. who, about this time, was sent by Agrippa to reduce the kingdom into submission to the Romans, took possession of the throne, not without some opposition. He was, however, subsequently confirmed in the sovereignty by Augustus, and his reign was long and prosperous. His dominions comprised, besides Pontus itself, Colchis and the other provinces, the confines of which he extended to the river Tanais at the north point of the Sea of Asoff, thus rendering all the coast of this inland sea tributary to his power. He afterwards destroyed the city of Tanais, which had ventured to throw off

his yoke.* Subsequently, he engaged in a war with a barbarian tribe of the Aspurgians who inhabited the mountains above Phanagoria (the present Caucasian range), and was not only defeated by them, but taken prisoner and put to death, B.C. 2. Polemon had been twice married. By his first wife, Dynamis, the daughter of Pharnaces and grand-daughter of Mithridates the Great, he had no children. He was succeeded on the throne by his second wife, Pythodoris. By her he left two sons, Polemon II. and Zeno, King of Armenia. Pythodoris is said by her contemporary Strabo to have been a woman of virtuous character and of great capacity for business; and her dominions flourished under her rule. She subsequently married Archeläus, King of Cappadocia; but after his death [A.D. 17], she returned to her own kingdom of Pontus, and died A.D. 38. About this time the kingdom of the Bosphorus was wrested from her by Savromates I.

Savromates I. was surnamed Tiberius Julius out of compliment to the Emperors, by whose authority he reigned in the Bosphorus. Nothing is known of this king or of his successor. Medals

* The ruins of this place are to the west of the modern Asoff. It was afterwards rebuilt, but never attained its former eminence.

have, however, been found with his name inscribed upon them.

[A.D. 30.] Savromates was succeeded by Rhescuporis I., who also assumed the surnames of Tiberius Julius; and who seems to have held the reins of government only until A.D. 38, when Caligula raised Polemon, son of Polemon I. and his wife Pythodoris, to the throne.

[A.D. 38 to 42.] Polemon II., who during the life of his mother, although he assisted in the administration of her dominions, had been content to remain in a private station, found himself, soon after his accession to the throne of Pontus, raised also to the sovereignty of the Bosporus, of which he was afterwards deprived by Claudius, who assigned it to Mithridates, giving Polemon a portion of Cilicia in lieu of it. Polemon appears to have been a man of weak character, and allowed himself to be persuaded by Berenice, widow of Herod, King of Chalcis, to adopt the Jewish religion, in order that he might marry that princess and become possessed of her vast wealth. This marriage, which Berenice had sought only as a cloak for her illicit amours, was soon dissolved, and Polemon ceased to profess Judaism, which he had embraced on the entreaty of the

Jewish Queen.* At a subsequent period Nero compelled him to abdicate the throne, and Pontus became reduced to the condition of a Roman province.

* Josephus. See also the Acts of the Apostles. Paul pleaded before Agrippa and Berenice.

CHAPTER VII.

KINGS OF THE BOSPORUS,

FROM MITHRIDATES, UNDER THE EMPEROR CLAUDIUS,
A.D. 41, TO PRINCE LEUCANOR, A.D. 171.

[A.D. 41—2.] Mithridates, a descendant of Mithridates the Great, became master of the Kingdom of the Bosporus, as has already been shown, by favour of the Emperor Claudius, during the life of Polemon II., and six or seven years later was expelled by the Romans, who placed his younger brother, Cotys, on the throne in his stead. The fugitive King subsequently prepared to invade the territory from which he had been driven, but was defeated and taken prisoner by Eunomus, king of one of the Scythian tribes, an ally of the Romans, and was given up to the Romans on the stipulation that his life should be spared. He was taken to Rome, and, according to Tacitus, "there maintained to the last his pride in the presence of the Emperor and the Roman people."

[A.D. 49 to 83.] Cotys reigned under Nero, and took the title of Neron-Kotys, as may be seen from a gold medal (see Cary, "*Histoire des Rois du Bosphore.*") struck in the ninth year of Nero's reign.

[A.D. 83.] Rhescuporis II. succeeded Cotys in the year 83, as we are led to believe from a medal (bearing his effigy on one side, the reverse having the head of Domitian), which was struck in the third year of that Emperor's reign.

[A.D. 100]. Savromates II., surnamed Eupator, is mentioned by Pliny as sending an embassy to the Emperor Trajan. There is a gold coin of this young monarch with the head of Trajan on the reverse side, supposed to have been struck in the 14th or 15th year of Trajan's reign; and another, struck in the ninth and tenth year of the Emperor Hadrian's reign. Savromates II. must therefore have reigned upwards of 26 years, for in

[A.D. 126.] We find Cotys II., King of the Bosphorus, mentioned by Arrian in his '*Periplus*,' (supposed to have been written in the 15th or 16th year of Hadrian's reign). His death took place A.D. 132, and he was succeeded by

Rhæmetacles (in the year of Rome 884 or 885), who is mentioned by Capitolinus in his life of

Antoninus Pius (c. 9). It would appear that Eupator, who became his successor, contested the possession of the throne with him, and that their claims were referred to Antoninus, who decided in favour of Rhæmetacles; but the latter dying some time after [A.D. 164] there remained no further obstacle to the succession of

Eupator, who reigned under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Philostrates tells us that this monarch was a great admirer of Greek literature; and that, being anxious to visit Ionia, he found himself at Smyrna, where all the philosophers of the city called upon him, except the sophist and rhetorician Polemon—who objected to visit him. The king, who had sent for him several times, at length went to him in person, and made him a magnificent present in money.

[A.D. 171.] Lucian mentions a prince Leucanor, who was killed by the Scythians, and his brother Eubestes, who succeeded him. But as there is no other record of them in history, and as no medals have been found, we suppose they must have been only temporary governors.

Arsacomus, a Scythian, who visited the court of Leucanor to present the tribute which

the kings of Pontus then paid to the kings of the Bosphorus for their protection, fell in love with his daughter Mazea, for whose hand two princes were also contending. Arsacomus acknowledged that he was poor in worldly goods, but declared himself to be infinitely rich in having two devoted friends. He was laughed at for his presumption, and the princess promised to one of her suitors, Maclyus. Arsacomus, deeply mortified, returned home and confided to his two friends, Leucates and Machentes, the insult he had received. The first promised him the head of Leucanor, and the second vowed that he would bring to him the princess herself.

Arsacomus called together his tribe whilst Leucates went to the court of Leucanor, and uttering a falsehood before the king, offered to swear to the truth of his assertion in the temple. Leucanor accompanied him thither, and commanded his followers to wait for him at the door. Leucates availed himself of the opportunity to cut off Leucanor's head, and having put it in a small saddle-bag, he issued from the temple as if sent with a message by the king. He soon reached his horse, and galloped off to join his friend Arsacomus.

Machentes had, in the meanwhile, in an interview with prince Maclyus, represented himself as a relation of the princess. He informed him that the throne of the Bosphorus was vacant, and persuaded him to proceed immediately to the capital, and claim the succession in the name of the king's daughter, whom he promised to bring up by slow journeys. She was confided to him, and no sooner was she in his power, than he carried her off to Arsacomus. Maclyus, on discovering the deception practiced on him, collected an army, and with Eubestes, the late king's brother, attacked the Scythians, but was routed by Arsacomus and his two friends, at the head of their tribes.

CHAPTER VIII.

KINGS OF THE BOSPORUS,

FROM SAVROMATES III. A.D. 178, TO SAVROMATES VIII.

LAST KING OF THE BOSPORUS, A.D. 343.

The episode in the last chapter is one of the few incidents of interest in the annals of the Bosporian monarchy which have been handed down to us, and we were therefore tempted into some digression from our mere chronological details. We now resume.

In A.D. 178, about the latter end of the life of Marcus Aurelius, Savromates III. ascended the throne. On the reverse of the coins struck by his command, we see the heads of this Emperor, and of Commodus, Severus, and Caracalla. His reign must thus have comprised a period of thirty-two years. The Kings of the Bosphorus had been, since their subjection to the Roman sway, of so little importance, and so much out of the way of

the historians, that the names of many are not even mentioned, although coins struck by them establish the fact of their existence.

[A.D. 212.] Rhescuporis stands in this category; and we literally know nothing of him but what his coins indicate, namely, that he was a contemporary of Caracalla, Alexander, and Severus.

From A.D. 229 to A.D. 235 three sovereigns exercised authority, each during only a short period. Their names were Cotys III., succeeded by Savromates IV., who was supplanted by Cotys IV. Then follows a blank in the history of the Bosporian kings, until the accession of Aninthimevus, who reigned barely one year, and was succeeded by Rhescuporis IV., the contemporary of Valerian. There are several medals of this king, but of his history nothing is known.

[A.D. 245.] Some ten years after, Tyranes succeeded to the throne. There is but one extant medal commemorating his reign, and his name has been quite lost to history.

[A.D. 271.] The next monarch of whom we have any information is Thothorses, of whom several medals exist, the last bearing date A.U.C. 1055-56.

[A.D. 276.] The Sarmatians who at first crossed

the Tanais at the request of Mithridates, had continued gradually to surround the kingdom of the Bosporus, and at length made themselves masters of it, under Savromates V., who took possession of the throne. Constantine Porphyrogenitus informs us that this monarch took advantage of the weakness of the Roman Empire [A.D. 291], to invade Pontus, and advanced as far as the River Holys. Here the Roman general, Constantius, held him at bay; whilst Chrestus, "King of Cherson," at the instigation of Diocletian, invaded his kingdom, and made himself master of the capital of the Bosporus. Savromates was obliged to purchase peace by abandoning all his conquests. Although Chrestus is styled "King of Cherson," he was only chief of the senate, as we shall presently see when we enter more particularly into the history of that city.

The Chersonites had generally been enabled, by their almost insular position, to maintain their independence; which, however, they bowed before the great Mithridates, who had become master of the whole of the Crimea, and was engaged, at the latter end of his life, in collecting an army for the purpose of invading the Roman dominions by land. But profiting by the disturbed state of the kingdom

and the weakness of the successors of Mithridates, they contrived to re-establish a republican form of government. The Roman Emperors encouraged and supported them, because by this means they maintained a check on each of the two states in the Crimea; and Diocletian, in recompense for the services of the Chief of Cherson, exonerated the city from paying any tribute to the Romans.

As there is a long period on which history is silent, between the commencement and close of the reign of Savromates, it has been naturally concluded that there were two kings of this name, and the events related of the latter days of Savromates V. have been supposed to belong to the reign of Savromates VI.

[A.D. 310-12.] A few years after the coming to the throne of Constantine the Great, Savromates VII., anxious to revenge the disgrace his grandfather had suffered at the hands of the people of Cherson, assembled an army to attack them. He was, however, repulsed, and compelled to fix limits between his dominions and those of the Chersonites, who again behaved most generously, and allowed the inhabitants of the Bosphorus to retain a great part of the plain of Kertsch.

[A.D. 320—344.] Rhescuporis V., who was co-temporary with Constantine the Great, must have come to the throne in the 6th or 7th year of that emperor's reign. There are several medals extant of this king, but they are not clear in their early dates. It is conjectured that he reigned as late as the years A.U.C. 1096—97.

[A.D. 343.] It is supposed that Savromates VIII. came to the throne in A.D. 343. He was the last of the Kings of the Bosphorus. Having renewed the war with the people of Cherson, the two armies met at Caphæ (perhaps the present and ancient Theodosia). Pharnaces, chief of the Chersonites, sent to challenge Savromates to single combat. The latter accepted the challenge, and being a man of superior strength and stature, hoped to defeat his antagonist. Pharnaces, however, placed himself in such a position that his opponent's back was turned to the enemy; and, at the moment of attack, as had been preconcerted, the followers of Pharnaces shouted, and Savromates, turning his head to see what was the matter, was taken by surprise, and received a mortal blow from Pharnaces, who then cut off his head. The date of this event is unfortunately not known to us. From this time Bosphorus became subject to the rulers of Cherson,

who, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, "allowed them (its inhabitants) a little land to cultivate;" and, he adds, "the boundaries of the two states are the same up to this day." [A.D. 911—959]

The tracing of the history of the Kingdom of the Bosphorus presents many difficulties which it is impossible entirely to surmount. The Chersonesus was too far from the centre of civilization of the ancients to fix the attention of any historian of past times. All we can do is to collect the few notices which we find in the Greek and Latin writers; and if to this we add the tale told by a few partly-defaced medals which have withstood the ravages of time, we have all the data on which to build our history. We have endeavoured to give all the facts which have come down to us, and in order to fix these more permanently on the mind, it will not be uninteresting to recapitulate the principal events, so as to form a skeleton history of the Kings of the Bosphorus, before we pass on to that of the Chersonesus in general.*

Strabo, as we have previously said, tells us that in early ages the first masters of the Bosphorus were

lenominated Tyrants ; and he mentions the names of Leucon, Satyrus, and Parysades, as coming within this category. These Sovereigns were not tyrannical in their government, for some of them reigned with great moderation ; but the epithet of " Tyrannos " was given in early times to self-established rulers—men who had raised themselves from the rank of citizens to be chiefs or monarchs. During the next epoch these " heads of the people " became kings, and they were recognised by their own subjects, and by neighbouring tribes, as legitimate possessors of the throne they had established, in any region which had become of sufficient importance to admit of such an assumption of royal privileges.

This line of kings continued until the reign of Parysades II. ; who, being too weak to resist the encroachments of the barbarians of the north, made over his kingdom to Mithridates the Great, King of Pontus. On the death of Mithridates, the Kings of the Bosphorus derived their regal authority from Rome, the then centre of civilization. The most ancient dynasty to which Diodorus Siculus has referred is that of the Archæanactidæ. Diodorus does not give their names, but merely states that the dynasty lasted forty-two years.

The first legitimate king was Spartacus I., B.C. 480, who was succeeded by Seleucus; after whom there is an interval of twenty years, of which no record is extant. Satyrus I. appears to have formed the first monarch of the next dynasty, which has been called the Cimmerian monarchy. He lived in the time of Hadrian, who, we may mention, was the first emperor represented in coins with a beard, which it is said he wore to cover some mark on his face.

The succession remained in one family down to the time of Spartacus III., and perhaps even down to Parysades II., who, as we have seen, made over the sovereignty to Mithridates the Great, A.U.C. 646, (B.C. 108). From this time, the kings were nominated by the Emperors of Rome, until their power passed away into comparative insignificance under Savromates VIII., the last monarch who struck any coin in his own name, and with his effigy on the obverse, the reverse bearing that of the then Emperor of Rome.

The kingdom of the Bosphorus lasted 693 years, if we include the dynasty of the Archæanactides (the self-established rulers), and 620 years, reckoning from the commencement of the reign of the legitimate and recognised kings.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SCYTHIAN OR SARMATIAN NATIONS, AND
THEIR DESCENDANTS, THE ALANS AND GOTHs.

THE dynasty of the Sarmatian Kings of the Bosphorus was, as we have seen, extinguished by Pharnaces, chief of Cherson. The ancient Greeks, who were accustomed to find their language spoken wherever they went, do not tell us what the language of the Sarmatians was. It has been supposed to have been Illyrian, and therefore of the Sclavonic family. From all we can gather of the ancient history of the Sarmatians, they seem to have been only a branch of the Scythians who entered Europe and passed to the north about the same time, or a little later, than these their Eastern cousins. A branch, then, of these Sarmatians or Scythians—for it is difficult, if not impossible, to make a proper distinction between them*—had been residing in the

* Gibbon tells us that, "from the accounts of history, there is some reason to believe that these Sarmatians were the Jazygæ, one of the most numerous and warlike tribes of the nation;" thus confirming our opinion that they only formed a branch of the great Scythian race.

mountainous part of the Crimea as far back as B.C. 380.

Strabo tells us that Skiluros, whom he calls their King, built the forts of Palakion and Neapolis; and not far from Inkerman may still be seen the ruins of natural fortifications which now bear the name of Kerman. These Scythians were conquered by Mithridates; and Skiluros, who had taken refuge in Palakion (the modern Bakschi-serai*) was obliged to surrender. He did not long survive his misfortune. It is related that, feeling the hand of death upon him, he called his sons, eighty-four in number, around him, and desired each to break a sheaf of arrows tied together, which, of course, they were unable to do. He then broke each arrow separately, and thus illustrated the advantages of union.†

Up to the Christian era we really know nothing positive of the Scythian nation. Strabo truly says—"The ancient history of this people is uncertain, because writers have composed fictitious narratives, seeing that false stories were more pleasing than the truthful recital of events." About the Christian era we find that the Tauric Scy-

* Or, more correctly, Bâghchih-Sarâi, "The Palace of the Garden."

† Plutarch in Apoph. de Garrulis; and Strabo, l. 7. From this story, the Seven United Provinces of Holland, 1700 years after, took their motto—"Vis unita fortior."

thians were called after some of the chiefs of their tribes, and denominated Alans, Zikians, and Goths.

These Alani,* so called by the Romans, were, as we have just observed, a branch of the great Scythian nation, and came originally from Mount Imaüs, (now Musdagh), which is a continuation of the great Tauric range. It is supposed to answer to the Himalaya mountains of Tibet. The word "Alin" in Manchu means "mountain," therefore "Alani" signifies "mountaineers." This people were a nomad race like all other Tartar tribes, and lived on the milk and flesh of their cattle. Their religious ceremonies were of the most simple kind; they would stick a spear in the ground, and thus incite themselves to worship the god of war. They were a fair, tall, handsome race, with light hair, which softened their wild martial look. We know nothing more of them than that about A.D. 62, they pressed hard upon the Bosphorus and Cherson, and continued for upwards of a century to molest the Greek colonies, until they were in their turn conquered by the Goths, another Scythian tribe.

* According to Klaproth, the Ossetes, who called themselves Irani, were Medes, and the same people whom Herodotus calls Arioi. They are the Sarmatian Medes of the ancients, the Aes or Alans of the middle ages, and the Jasses of the Russian chronicles. — *Voyage au Mt. Caucase.*

Pressed by their enemies, they abandoned the mountainous parts of the Crimea, and established themselves in the plain of the peninsula of Kertsch, where they remained till they were by degrees overwhelmed by other invading nations, and, by admixture with the conquering Ases, lost their identity. A portion of these tribes were called Zikians, and remained in possession of the mountains of the Crimea, which they continued to occupy along with the Goths.*

* There are two or three fanciful derivations which are so ingenious that we think it not uninteresting to repeat them here, leaving it to the reader to adopt them or not, as he pleases. Some people of Asia recognized the Divinity by the name of 'Eli,' whence the ancient Arabs derive their word 'Allah.' As the worshippers of God celebrated their ceremonies in the mountains, the high altars were called 'Elin' or 'Alin,' *e* and *a* being interchangeable—hence 'Alani.' The Germans, who had passed through Persia on their way westward, adopted the religion of the Egyptians whom Cambyzes had brought from Egypt, and who adored the Divinity under the name of 'Theuth,' and bringing the worship of this deity with them, they were called 'Teutsche' or 'Deutsche.' In the same way the people who came from the borders of the Araxes worshipped a being they denominated 'Gotte,' and hence 'Goth,' 'Gothe,' and 'Gete'. Hence the Getæ and the Goths may have been of the same tribe, spread over the borders of the Black sea; and Jornandes, Bishop of Ravenna, who was himself of the Alano-Gothic race, confirms this opinion. And, as in early times all the northern nations were wandering tribes, we must not be surprised to hear of them sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another. Thus we know that the Getæ were spread over the centre of Germany (Strabo's Geogr., l. vii.) And all that has come down to us of history leads us to believe the Goths to have been a branch of the Scythians.—Phot., cod. xxiii. Isidorus, *Chronicon de Gothis*. Jornandes, *De reb. Goth.*, c. 6. The Greeks often disfigured foreign names, and the Romans adopted the appellation of Goth for that of Scythian, as being easier to pronounce.

CHAPTER X.

REPUBLIC OF CHERSON OR KHERSON,

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE HERACLEANS OF FONTUS, TO A.D. 117, WHEN IT RECEIVED THE APPELLATION OF A ROMAN PROVINCE.

WHILST the Sarmatians were overrunning the Crimea, the city of Cherson (near the site of which the present Sebastopol is built) was already a flourishing colony, established by the Thracians from Heraclea, a city of Asia Minor on the southern coast of the Black Sea not far from Sinope, and the nearest point of land from the Asiatic continent crossing the Euxine to the Parthenium cape. This place was called Cherson, and sometimes Chersonesus, being the chief city of the peninsula of that name, which was more generally called the peninsula of Trachea.

The Trachea was enclosed by a trench and wall extending from the furthest point of the harbour

of the ancient town of Ctenos (the modern Inkerman), to the nearest point of the port of Symbolon (Balaklava). The two harbours of Sebastopol and Balaklava are the best in the peninsula. Indeed that of Sebastopol is one of the finest in the world.*

Cherson was situated to the south of the modern port of Sebastopol. At the further end, to the east, was the port of Ctenos, from which the waters of the Mediterranean have retreated, leaving only an unhealthy marsh near Inkerman. There was no other port along the coast except that formed by the Parthenium promontory, on which was situated the Temple of Diana. People are not agreed about the exact site of the ancient city of Cherson,—some supposing it to have been Kertsch, others Theodosia, others again Koslow or Karasu-bazar, and some even at Kilburnu! But a little attention to Strabo's description will satisfy the reader that the modern town of Sebastopol was built very nearly on the ruins of the ancient Cherson, even if the evident advan-

* It is said that Mr. Grasman, some years back, discovered a process whereby the evil effects of the worm (which we have elsewhere alluded to), that infests its waters, might be counteracted.—*Hamburgische Zeitung*, num. 154 vom Jahr 1795, Artikel 'Belleville.'

tages of the situation are not sufficient to convince him that the Heraclides, who were masters of the sea, would naturally have chosen the nearest and best harbour where they might land and plant their colony.

The early records of Cherson, like those of all very ancient cities, are lost in the obscurity of past ages. We only hear of it when it began to be considered a Greek city, adopting the customs and manners of those who first visited it for the sake of commerce. It remained independent for several centuries, increasing in importance by reason of the industry of its inhabitants and the activity of its commerce; but, like Panticapæum and the other colonies of the Tauric Chersonesus, it was unable to withstand the constant attacks of the barbarian invaders, and was compelled to resort for protection to Mithridates, B.C. 115.

Mithridates sent his general Diophanes to operate against the Scythian invaders, fifty thousand strong, under Palakus, son of Skiluros. Diophanes cut their army in pieces, with a force of sixty thousand soldiers of Pontus, and took their king prisoner at Palakion (Bakschi-seraï). He fixed his head-quarters at Cherson; but in order to have a strongly-fortified place nearer the plain,

he built Eupatoria (Koslow), and further fortified his position at Cherson (Sebastopol), by constructing the trench and wall already mentioned. The Scythians, unable to scale the fortifications, filled the hollows with brushwood, to which the besieged set fire, completely repulsing the enemy. In the meanwhile, Neoptolemus, an admiral of Mithridates, had vanquished the fleet of the Scythians, and thus the whole of the Chersonesus became subject to the King of Pontus.

It would have been better for the republic of Cherson if they could have dispensed with the necessity of appealing to Mithridates for protection and support. As a consequence of his ambitious spirit, he was perpetually engaged in hostilities with Rome, and thus drew down on his friends and allies the displeasure of the Mistress of the World. The flourishing commerce of Cherson received, during the reign of Mithridates, a check which it did not recover for many years.

When Mithridates at length succumbed to the Roman arms [A.D. 69], he gave up to Pompey, not only Cherson itself, but the whole of the peninsula which he had acquired by conquest. Pompey placed garrisons in all the important towns, such as Taman, Cherson, Theodosia, Nymphæa, and

Panticapæum (Kertsch); establishing Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, on the throne of the Bosphorus.

Following events in their chronological order, we may here record that Saint Andrew is said to have landed at Cherson on his way to Scythia [A.D. 90] to preach the Gospel to the Sarmatians; and in A.D. 89, Saint Clement, the disciple and successor of Saint Peter, was condemned by the Emperor Trajan to work in the quarries of the Chersonesus, near Inkerman. The successor of the Apostle, however, succeeded in gaining the goodwill of all by his docility and eminent virtues, and made converts in large numbers. Trajan, on receiving intelligence of this, ordered him [A.D. 92] to be thrown from the top of a promontory into the sea; and the barbarous mandate having been carried into execution, the devoted followers of the saint and martyr recovered his body, and preserved it with great veneration until the middle of the ninth century, when Saint Cyril [A.D. 858], on his way to preach the Gospel to the Kazars, collected his remains; and, on his return to Rome [A.D. 867], took them with him.

In A.D. 96, a niece of the Emperor Titus, who had been converted to Christianity by Saint

Clement, was doomed to perpetual banishment in the Chersonesus.

The Chersonites recovered in some measure their independence under the Romans, inasmuch as they were allowed to be governed by their own chiefs, who were styled 'Proterons'; and who were the presidents of the senate in time of peace, and commanders in time of war.

[A.D. 106.] Trajan treated the Chersonesus as a conquered province, and used it as a place of banishment for such persons as fell under his displeasure.

Hadrian, who succeeded Trajan [A.D. 117], in carrying out his design of contracting the limits of the Empire, neglected the Chersonesus, which fell a prey to the various tribes of barbarians, who set up small independent states. Cherson alone, by reason of its strong position, withstood the shock of the northern barbarians; but acknowledging its comparative weakness, put itself under the protection of the Empire, extending its territorial limits to the Bosporus, and comprising in its dominions forty large towns.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GOTHES AND THEIR INCURSIONS INTO
ITALY AND GREECE FROM THE CRIMEA.

FROM A.D. 253 TO A.D. 268.

It is difficult, if not impossible, in a work which professes to give only recorded and ascertained facts, to enter into any detailed account of the names and origins of the numerous races of barbarians who now appear upon the scene. In their first stage they were mere associations of warriors, united in some plan of invasion, which gave a name to the confederacy; but afterwards, when joined by crowds of volunteers, who flocked from all parts to follow the standard of some favourite leader, they generally called themselves after his name. The names thus arbitrarily assumed were constantly varying, to the discomfiture of the bewildered historian, who wrote only from report. The enumeration of kings and warriors, of armies

and nations, often the same though under different relations, inextricably confused the narrators of facts and circumstances. Thus we see, in this remote quarter of the Roman world, the denominations of Scythian, Sarmatian, Alan, and Goth, are often confounded in the casual notices which are found in the early historians; and the later chroniclers could but follow in their steps. We will not attempt to point out the distinctions which great ethnological skill and research may some day perhaps establish; but content ourselves with giving a succinct account of the three incursions into the Roman Empire by the people whom Jornandes calls Goths, but who are generally termed Scythians by Zosimus and the Greek writers; and Sarmatians by later historians.

As long as the sceptre was swayed by a lineal succession of kings, the inhabitants of the Chersonesus were enabled to ward off the attacks of the northern tribes upon their territory, which was in some measure protected by the fortification across the isthmus. But when domestic factions and private interests prevailed among them, the northern barbarians penetrated into the heart of the Chersonesus, and became [A.D. 253—268], under the name of Alans (or, as Jornandes styles them, Goths from the

Ukraine), masters of the country. Having acquired possession of a fertile soil, they soon desired further conquests. Seizing the vessels which the inhabitants of the Peninsula had learned to navigate, they compelled them to become their pilots over the waters of the Euxine. Coasting the shore of Circassia, a country too poor and inhabited by a people too warlike to attract their attention, they first landed at Pityus, a seaport of Colchis; and, although at first repulsed, ultimately succeeded in taking and destroying that city. They proceeded to Trebizond, which was considered impregnable, and on this account left undefended by the garrison, and entered the fortress during the night by heaping fascines against the walls. A general massacre took place, and the booty which fell into the hands of the barbarians was enormous. The victors spread without opposition through the province of Pontus; and, satisfied with the success of their first naval expedition, they returned in triumph to their new establishment in the Chersonesus.

The second Gothic expedition was undertaken in greater force, and was directed against the western coast of the Euxine. Having made many captives in their first expedition, they chained

them to the oars, and increased their fleet by the capture of all the barks which they encountered at the entrance of the Dnieper, the Dniester, and the Danube.

The garrison of Chalcedon was encamped on a promontory which commands the entrance of the Straits of the Thracian Bosphorus, or Strait of Constantinople, through which the Black Sea pours its waters into the Mediterranean.

Although the defenders of Chalcedon were vastly superior in numbers, the Goths soon succeeded in routing them and taking the city, in which they found abundant supplies of arms and money. A deserter from the garrison, who had reached the Gothic camp, suggested an attack upon Nicomedia, a city at the eastern point of the Sea of Marmora, and guided the invaders to the place, which they took without resistance. Nicæa, Prusa, Apamæa, and Cius, rivals of Nicomedia in splendour, shared its fate, and the whole province of Bythinia became ultimately involved in the same calamity.

An overflow of the river Rhyndacus, and the approach of winter, stayed their progress and hastened their return. To navigate the Euxine before the month of May, or after the month of

September, is esteemed by the modern inhabitants of the Thracian Bosphorus the most unquestionable evidence of rashness and folly. Chardin, in his "Voyage from Constantinople to Caffa," testifies to the popularity of this conviction.

The third expedition which they undertook was upon a still larger scale. Five hundred vessels of all kinds and sizes, carrying an army of 15,000 warriors, formed, for those days, an imposing armament. This time, steering directly across the Euxine from the Cimmerian to the Thracian Bosphorus, they landed on the small island of Cyzicus in the Propontis, and destroyed the ancient and noble city of that name. They then passed through the Hellespont (the Straits of the Dardanelles), cruising among the islands of the Grecian Archipelago, and availing themselves of the assistance of captives and deserters to pilot their vessels. At length they anchored in the Piræus, at a distance of five miles from Athens; * and they soon after took possession of the seat of the Muses and the Arts. Some temporary check they suffered from an unexpected and partially successful attack of the Greek

* Pliny, *Hist. Natur.*, iii. 7.

peasantry on their fleet; but this only seemed to exasperate the barbarous host, and to incite them to fresh aggressions. Thebes, Argos, Corinth, and Sparta succumbed on the advance of the victorious legions; which, after these conquests, arrived at length on the coast of the Adriatic, within sight of Italy. In this emergency the Emperor Gallienus appeared in person at the head of a large army to oppose the invaders; and by his intrigues contrived to sow dissension among their leaders; one of whom, Naulobatus, accepted an honorable capitulation, and, entering into the service of Rome, was invested with the consular office and dignity. The followers of Naulobatus, true to the engagement of their leader, remained for a long time the faithful supporters of the falling empire. The remaining forces of the expedition found their way back to the region from which they had set out, through the Hellespont and the Thracian Bosphorus, ravaging the shores of Troy, "whose fame," says Gibbon, "immortalised by Homer, will probably survive the memory of the Gothic conquest." As soon as they found themselves in the basin of the Euxine, they landed at Anchiale, near the foot

of Mount Hæmus ; and, after indulging in the luxurious hot baths for which the place was famous, returned home. Such was the fate of the third and greatest of the warlike enterprises of the Goths. Although their numbers had been wasted by war, they were perpetually strengthened by reinforcements of bandits and fugitive slaves, often of Sarmatian extraction. In these expeditions, the Gothic races, however, claimed a superior share of honour and of danger ; but as all the auxiliaries fought under their banners, they are sometimes distinguished, and sometimes confounded with them, under the one generic name of Goth or Scythian, since all were known to issue from the Sea of Asoff and the coast inhabited by these northern barbarians.

During the absence of the Goths (who, on the occasion of their departure on their third expedition, had neglected to fortify their position in the Crimea), their territories were (about the commencement of the fourth century), invaded by the Huns, who completely subjugated the three kindred tribes of Alans, Zikians, and Goths of the peninsula. To these new invaders we shall presently return

when we have completed the narrative of facts pertaining to the city of Cherson exclusively.*

* At the end of the third and commencement of the fourth century, the Christian religion was first introduced into the Chersonesus, and bishops were established at Cherson, in the Bosporus, and among the Goths. The latter were converted by priests whom they had taken captive during the wars and incursions in Asia. There was also an archbishopric at Tomi (the present Taman), on the island of that name, at the mouth of the river Kuban. The Greek Church had established a bishopric at Panticapæum; and the Latins one to the north of this latter place, at Yeni-kalé. The Latin bishop at Caffa bore the title of Archbishop of Gothland. About the middle of the 8th century, the Goths had adopted the Latin Church; and their Bishop John, who, in 737, had assisted at the Council of Nice, was made prisoner by the Chazars.

CHAPTER XII.

REPUBLIC OF CHERSON,

FROM A.D. 291 TO A.D. 536, WHEN THE CITY WAS
UNSUCCESSFULLY BESIEGED BY THE HUNS.

CONTINUING our narrative of the history of Cherson, we find but little to record until A.D. 332. In the history of the Bosporian monarchy, we have shown how the Chief of Cherson, at the instigation of the Emperor Diocletian, attacked [A.D. 291] Savromates V., King of the Bosporus, and compelled him to make peace with Rome; and we have also related how Savromates VII., anxious to revenge on the Chersonites the disgrace of his ancestor, invaded their territory, but was vanquished by their Chief, Diogenes, and compelled to fix a boundary line between the two States.*

* The vallum or outer boundary of the Bosporians, which separated their peninsula from the country of the Tauri, consisted of a wall, which is mentioned by Dr. Clarke. It extends in an easterly direction from the Sea of Asoff, at a place now called Arabat, to the

In A.D. 332, Gibbon records another expedition which the people of Cherson undertook against the Goths, at the suggestion of Constantine the Great, and to which they were further urged by the memory of the wars which, in the preceding century, they had maintained with unequal forces against the invaders of their country. The Chersonites were connected with the Romans by the tie of a mutual commercial interest; and, on this account, they the more readily, on the requisition of Constantine, equipped a considerable army under their Chief, Diogenes, for the purpose of attacking the Goths; whom they succeeded in subjugating, and dispersed among the mountains. Above a hundred thousand men were computed to have perished in the course of one campaign by cold and hunger. Peace was at length granted

mountains behind Caffa. Strabo tells us, on the authority of Hypsicrates, that it was constructed by Asander. It was 360 stadia in length, with a tower at every stadium. The Asander referred to was not the monarch who, revolting against his father-in-law, was confirmed in the authority he had usurped by Augustus; but another Asander whom it is necessary to distinguish from the first of that name. The former Asander was master of the whole Crimea, and it was more natural that he should have drawn the line of defence at Taphræ; but the latter was chief only of the remnant of the Bosporian kingdom, and would have been called upon to protect his territory from the Chersonites, whose power was daily increasing in the same ratio as that of the Bosporian kings waned.

by the victors to the humble supplication of the conquered race ; and the eldest son of the Gothic chief was taken as a hostage. In return for the assistance thus afforded him by the Chersonites, the Roman Emperor gratified the pride of the nation by splendid and princely decorations bestowed on their magistrates ; and a perpetual exemption from all duties was granted to their commercial marine.

The Kings of the Bosphorus could not, however, passively endure their inferior position ; and in A.D. 343, Savromates VIII., who nourished an hereditary hatred against the Republic, again attempted to subjugate it ; but was, as before related, vanquished in single combat by Pharnaces, the then Chief of Cherson. Pharnaces behaved very generously towards the Bosphorians, assisting them against the Sarmatians who oppressed them, and giving up to them the whole of the peninsula of Kertsch for corn-land and pasturage.

The Bosphorians were not sufficiently magnanimous to pardon such a benefit, and, although they erected a statue to Pharnaces in their capital city, they unworthily cherished a deep hatred against the Republic of Cherson ; and as they could not hope

to gratify their enmity by open means, they endeavoured to accomplish their ends by stratagem. Asander, chief of the Bosphorians (whom Constantine Porphyrogenitus calls King, although, as we have seen, Savromates VIII. was the last of the Kings of the Bosphorus), made overtures [A.D. 350] to Lamachus, the richest and most influential of the Chersonites, for the marriage of his son to Gycia, Lamachus' daughter. The proposals were accepted on condition that the prince should renounce his citizenship of the Bosphorus, and reside at Cherson. These conditions were accepted, and the marriage took place. Two years after, Lamachus died. His daughter, who inherited his vast wealth, was desirous of celebrating the anniversary of the death of her father by distributing bread and wine to the people; and Asander acquiesced. The people of the Bosphorus had, at the suggestion of the husband of Gycia, sent presents, from time to time, in charge of small escorts of chosen warriors; who, as had been pre-arranged with Asander, instead of returning to their own country when they had performed their ostensible mission, feigned to set out on their homeward journey, but came back during the night, and concealing themselves in a subter-

anean chamber of the palace, awaited an opportunity of attacking the city. At the time appointed by Gycia for the commemoration of her father's death, their numbers, which had constantly been reinforced by the arrival of fresh escorts, had increased to 200; and they would doubtless have received further reinforcements, had not one of Gycia's attendants, by a fortunate chance, discovered their retreat and reported the fact of their suspicious concealment to her mistress. Gycia, on being apprized of the treachery of the Bosporians, summoned the Chief of Cherson, and announcing that the State was in imminent danger from an unseen foe, promised to save it from the threatened attack, if her countrymen would engage to erect a tomb in memory of her, after her death, in the centre of their city. They promised compliance with her wishes, and she then informed them of the treason of her husband, and desired them to wait till the day fixed for the celebration of the anniversary of her father's death. She then gave directions that the palace should be completely encircled with tall piles of wood; and, quitting it unobserved, instructed her dependants to fire the inflammable mass. Her

directions were implicitly obeyed, and the Bosporian soldiers, together with the treacherous Asander, perished in the flames of the vast funeral pyre which the patriotic Gycia had raised to punish their crime and save her country. The Chersonites, in recognition of her public spirit, erected two statues to her honour, one of which represented her holding a torch in her hand, as a symbol of the service she had rendered the State. Some years after, Gycia, desirous of ascertaining if her countrymen would keep their promise of erecting for her a mausoleum within the walls of the city, contrary to their established practice of extramural interment in the public cemetery, feigned to be dead; and the chiefs, insisting on interring her outside of the town, she suffered herself to be borne thither on her bier, when, suddenly rising up as from the dead, she upbraided them with their ingratitude and faithlessness. Abashed and confounded, they proceeded forthwith to mark out a site for a mausoleum within the city, and penitentially voted her a third statue which was forthwith executed and erected.

We lose the thread of the history of Cherson from A.D. 379 to A.D. 536, during which time it remained under the subjection or protection of the

Empire of the East, but electing its own rulers, who laboured successfully to extend its political and commercial importance. The wealth accumulated by the industry and enterprise of the inhabitants during this period at length excited the cupidity of the Huns,* who, about this epoch [A.D. 536], appeared before the place in great force, and were only compelled to raise the siege after they had done much injury to the city and its inhabitants.†

About A.D. 375, the Huns, who had conquered the Sarmatians in Asia, entered the Chersonesus, overpowered the Bosphorians and the people of Cherson, utterly destroyed the Sarmatian possessors of the interior, who resisted them to the death, and occupied the entire peninsula.

[A.D. 434.] The Tauric Chersonesus was but a small point compared with the immense empire which the Huns at a somewhat later date established. It was, however, much harassed by various tribes from without until the time of the Emperor Valentinian III., when Attila (mild in his

* These Huns were represented by two branches—the Cutrigures, who occupied the west coast of the Black Sea; and the Utrigures, who resided at Mangoup, and had taken possession of the interior of the country, becoming known under the name of Goths of Trapezus.

† See Procop. "De bello Gothico," l. iv. c. 6.

government although proud and overbearing to his enemies), sent [A.D. 449] his son Ellac to govern this part of his vast dominions.*

About A.D. 460, one branch of the Huns (the Turk), becoming more powerful than the rest, the race lost the denomination of Hun, in the same manner as, at a later period, when Genghis Khan (of the Mogul branch of the Huns) gave to the race which he led to the conquest of the vast empire he ultimately acquired, the name of Moguls. One of the immediate descendants of Genghis Khan (Mokhan Khan) made war [A.D. 555] against the Getæ who had come from the west; took possession of their country as far as the Caspian Sea, and became by degrees undisputed master of Tartary and all its various tribes;—having effected his object by the massacre of three thousand of the tribe of Geugen, which had been the chief tribe up to the establishment of the Il-Khan dynasty. Noushirwan the Great was at this time all-potent in Persia, and the Turks were restrained by him from entering Khorasan.

Justin II. sent an embassy to Mokhan, and maintained friendly relations with him, in order that his tribes might serve as a check on the Shah of

* Priscus, *Fragmenta de Legat. ad Attilam.*

Persia. To keep the Turks out of Azerbaijan, Noushirwan fortified the city of Derbend which is situated on the Caspian Sea, at a place where the mountains which flank the western shore of that sea are so precipitous that it is necessary to pass through the city in order to penetrate into the southern part of the country ; and to this day may be seen the remains of an immense wall, with fortified towers at intervals, which runs from shore to shore of the Caspian and Black Seas over mountain and valley.

About A.D. 581, Tiberius II. sent on an embassy Valentinus to Tur Khan, with offers of friendship such as had existed between his ancestor and Justin II. Valentinus landed at Cherson, and coasting the southern shores of the Crimea with a suite of a hundred and six Turks, traversed the Palus Mæotis (Sea of Asoff) and after a long journey succeeded in reaching the court of Tur Khan, who, however, received him coldly, complaining much of the bad faith of the Romans. The Khan subsequently sent an army to take the city of the Bosphorus (whether the Cimmerian or the Thracian, history does not say, but probably the latter is intended, for, in his answer to Valentinus, the Khan announced that the Alani and

Utrigures had submitted to his sway). From this we may conclude that the power of the Turks was at that time dominant in the regions bordering the northern coasts of the Black Sea. Such was the extent of the empire, that the great Khan, who resided at Altai, found it necessary to establish a viceroy at Kapchak. For many centuries these victorious Turks had been subject to the Chinese ; and, from some of the nations which came westward descended the Chazars and other tribes already mentioned.

In following the history which De Guignes gives us of the many divisions of the race which conquered the west of Asia, one circumstance cannot fail to strike the reader. All the Turk tribes seem to have been adapted only for a barbarous life, and utterly incapable of being improved by civilization : for, as soon as they settled down in the possession of a country, they began to degenerate, giving way to every species of vice, and imitating and even surpassing the profligacy of the race they had conquered. They were, in consequence, soon dispossessed of the countries they had shown themselves incapable of holding and governing, by fresh tribes—under different names, but all coming from the same inex-

haustible source—whose native energy and spirit, unexhausted by licentiousness and luxury, enabled them to win an easy victory over those of their own race who had become demoralized by yielding to the effeminate habits of the nations they had conquered.

[A.D. 1228.] Genghis Khan having brought under his sway all the nations of Great Tartary, sent his son, Tuchi Khan to conquer Kapchak, Russia, Hungary, Poland, and Bulgaria. Tuchi Khan first attacked the people of Kapchak, who fled into Hungary. He then turned his arms against the Polowtzins, and the Russians having come to the assistance of the latter, became in their turn the objects of his vengeance. Moskow was taken, and Russia overrun. The Mogul race penetrated into Poland and Hungary, but at length retired, and fixed the seat of their empire at Serai, the modern capital of Bosnia. The last of that dynasty, who reigned in 1502, had taken refuge in Poland, where he was detained at the request of Menghli Gerai, Khan of the Crimea. Cotemporary with this dynasty at Serai was the dynasty of the Nogais. Nogaia, or Noga, was great grandson of Genghis Khan, and was sent by his father, Tothan, to reign over the Western Tartars. He allied himself with

Michael Palæologus, whose sister, Euphrosyne, he married, and was constantly at war with the Bulgarians, his most immediate neighbours.

In the civil wars which ensued upon the death of Tokatmish Khan, of the Empire of Kapchak, Haji Gerai, a descendant of Genghis Khan, retired to the Crimea, where he had established himself as far back as A.D. 1441. He repudiated the sovereignty of the Khans of Kapchak, and joined with the King of Poland in a league against them. The Mogul branch of the Huns were denominated the Khans of Little Tartary, in contra-distinction to the Khans of Great Tartary from whom they were descended.

The establishment of the Kingdom of Kasan, was another result of the dismemberment of the Tartar Empire, consequent on the death of Tokatmish. The Kings of Kasan were intimately connected with the Khans of the Crimea, in conjunction with whom they waged constant war against the Russians, until, in A.D. 1552, Edi Gerai was overcome and dethroned, but allowed to retire to Russia, where he was converted to Christianity, and baptised under the name of Simeon.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ONGRI, AVARS, AND TURKS,

TRIBES OF THE HUN FAMILY, A.D. 464—679.

The Ongrian, or Hun race, is first mentioned in history in connection with the Crimea, in A.D. 464; and soon after we hear of the Emperor Justin sending Probus to the Bosphorus to invite the King of the Ongri, Ziligdes, to join him in an expedition against the King of Persia. In A.D. 529, Gordas, a King of the Ongri, was baptized at Constantinople. On returning to his dominions, he caused all the silver and gold ornaments of the churches to be melted and coined into money. He fell a victim to the ambition of his brother Muageres, who slew him and took possession of the Bosphorus, which was afterwards retaken by the Goths in the pay of Justinian.

These Ongri were mercenaries who sold their services to the highest bidder. Justinian took them into his pay, and employed them to fight in the army of Belisarius, under their chief Aigan. While thus engaged at Carthage, they defeated and cut to pieces an army of 2,000 Vandals, and were on the point of accepting a bribe to turn against their masters, the Romans, in the heat of battle, when Belisarius discovered the proposed treachery in time to induce them to remain neuter, by promising to give up to them the whole of the spoil. In A.D. 539, sailing from the Crimea, with the Cutrigures, they crossed the Danube, and ravaged the country as far as the gates of Constantinople. They afterwards wandered about in search of further objects of conquest with various success till A.D. 589, when being defeated by the Bulgarians, they returned to the Crimea to find another Gothic tribe, the Tetraxites, in possession of the Peninsula of Kertsch. These fellow-marauders they successfully engaged, and compelled them to cross to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. It was from this place (Kertsch) that, in the 21st year of Justinian's reign (A.D. 548) they sent ambassadors to Constantinople to desire that a bishop might be sent

to them in place of the one who had just died. The Emperor required, before permitting them to enter upon the object of their mission that they should state their opinion with reference to the dogma of the consubstantiation of the nature of Christ; and as they prudently, and perhaps truthfully, replied that they knew nothing at all about it, they were declared orthodox, and their prayer was granted. Some remnants of the conquered Goths had also taken refuge in that part of the Tauric range called Trapezus (the modern Sinab-dagh), and, owing to their intercourse with the more civilized inhabitants of Cherson, had become peaceful and laborious. They retained, however, a peculiar aversion to living under a roof and within walls, and demanded and obtained from the Emperor Justinian a promise that he would not build any towns in their district. But although their mountain position was favourable to their partial independence, they were at length [A.D. 679] subjugated by the Chazars, who thenceforth ruled over the Chersonesus, to which they gave the name of Chazaria, in the same manner as the Goths had called it Gothland. The Goths made frequent efforts to throw off this yoke, and had at one time

taken possession of some important towns ; but, not being supported by aid from Constantinople, they were unable to retain what they had furtively snatched from the stronger hands of their conquerors.

Thus terminated the history of the triumphs of a race which had dominated in the Chersonesus for 4000 years ; and which, during a part of that time, had overrun a considerable portion of the civilized world, and imposed its laws, its habits, and even its prejudices, on subjugated States ; which had overthrown the Western and threatened the Eastern Empire with destruction ; and established its power on such solid bases—through at least the half of Europe—that, when it ceased to exist, it left its permanent impress on society in the Feudal System, which for centuries condemned the common people of a large portion of Europe to an ignominious vassalage, and the traces of which yet remain in the laws and customs of that people which, in this age, is unquestionably the most free. But our Gothic memorials consist not only in the shadowy vestiges of a bondage which has passed away. In the style of architecture which still finds favour among us, and—more than any other—seems to harmonize with the emotions of

religion, we are copyists from these olden barbarians; and the Gothic sanctuaries where a refined and enlightened people perform their devotions, remind us of the hordes who destroyed great empires, and swept away the landmarks of an advancing civilization.*

* See Appendix—*Buzbeck*.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FIRST INCURSION OF THE HUNS INTO
THE CRIMEA, A.D. 375.

THE Tartar race was for two thousand years the scourge of mankind. It was this race which, as we have seen, contributed so largely to the destruction of the Roman Empire; which ravaged France, Italy, Germany, and the north of Europe; overturned the empire of the Khalifs, took possession of the Holy Land; and which, at this moment, disturbs the peace of Europe, and threatens to interrupt the progress of civilization. That branch of the Tartar race known to history as the Huns—which at first was denominated Tanju, and at a later period assumed the name of Turk—was originally established in a country north of China, whence it gradually spread over the whole of Tartary. The empire of the Huns was at first bounded on the south by China,

but subsequently extended to the north of the Caspian Sea; and, on being overthrown by the Chinese, the various tribes dispersed and passed westward. Tu-muen, the chief of one of these tribes, founded a new empire, and his people received the name of Turks. At a later period they divided into two branches—the Eastern and the Western—under separate Khans. The Western branch occupied the country as far as the frontiers of Persia and of the Roman Empire; and, constantly extending their boundaries, separated into other branches or tribes, such as the Hungarians, Uzes, and Patzinaces. The Eastern tribe, named Hoi-ke, re-occupied a part of Tartary; and many hordes also passed into Persia, whence, under the name of Seljukians, they extended their conquests as far as the Thracian Bosphorus, and became again sub-divided into other branches. One branch reigned in Persia, another at Ikonium in Asia Minor, a third at Damascus, a fourth at Aleppo, and a fifth at Kerman. Others formed empires in Syria and Egypt, and in the north of India. From them also sprang the Sultans of Khorasan, the Atabegs of Diarbeker, and the Ortakides of Maredin. While these dynasties were reigning in Western Asia, Genghis Khan, of the

Mogul race, made himself master of the interior of Tartary. His successors penetrated into Persia, and also into the Crimea; while other parts of Asia received rulers who were all descended from Genghis Khan. At the time when the Mogul incursion took place, a remnant of the Seljukians at Ikonium, who had taken refuge in the mountains of Asia Minor, laid the foundations of the Ottoman Empire. Tamerlane, also of a Mogul race, profiting by the weakness and degeneracy of the descendants of Genghis Khan, reconquered Asia, and his posterity spread over the entire continent, and even passed into the Crimea.

Thus we see that the Huns have appeared under a variety of denominations, according to the names of the chiefs who led them, or the tribes into which they were subdivided. About B.C. 209 the prevailing dynasty, the Tanju, had existed 1,000 years, and we may therefore conclude that it made its first appearance 1,200 years B.C., under the appellation of Hiong-nu. It would be useless in this work to follow the divisions and subdivisions of all the dynasties which followed each other in the Eastern empire of the Huns. De Guignes has completely exhausted this subject, and we must refer the reader to his

learned and laborious researches. We shall content ourselves with selecting such facts from his account as may appear to bear on our subject.

We have remarked that it was customary among the Tartars for a horde to assume the name of their immediate chief or of his family; and it was owing to this usage that the Huns lost their name of "Ongri," and assumed that of "Avars," and afterwards of "Turks." If we bear this in mind, and also recollect that we have received very indistinct accounts of the contentions among the savages whose real names were barely known to their neighbours, we shall perhaps be able to penetrate in some measure the veil of mystery which has always hung over this subject.*

For an account of the Avars we must refer the reader to De Guignes.† These people were originally settled upon the banks of the River Amar, and were supposed to have been one of the many branches of the Hun or Tartaric family. They

* The Tartars were a primitive tribe, the rivals and at length the subjects of the Moguls. In the victorious armies of Zenghis Khan and his successors they formed the vanguard, and probably distinguished themselves more than any of the followers of that celebrated leader. It may therefore be concluded that their name would first reach the ears of foreigners, and that it would be applied to whole nations which they would seem to represent. —Gibbon's "Decline and Fall."

† *Histoire des Huns*, vol. ii., page 250.

became masters of the great part of Tartary, and made frequent incursions into China. Driven from the banks of the Selenga which flows into Lake Baikal in Siberia, they proceeded to the eastern bank of the Volga, and passed into Pannonia. They became the most formidable enemies of Rome, and at a later period were the terror of Gaul and Italy. Nor do they seem to have encountered an equal foe, until, after having existed as a nation 489 years, Charlemagne at length subdued them.

A new tribe, which went by the name of "Turk" first took Panticapæum, A.D. 576, and the following year made themselves masters of the city of Cherson, the Ongri or Goths having for some years previously submitted to this new branch of their original race. In A.D. 577, Organos, a chief of the original Ongri race, re-conquered the country; and having been baptized at Constanti-ity, raised his nephew Kovrat, to the sovereignty of the Ongri; driving back, *for a time at least*, the Turk invaders.

We shall presently see (in the chapter on the Cozars or Chazars) that later, in A.D. 679, the Bosphorus fell into the power of these people. Justinian II., in his compulsory exile, was assigned

a residence there by the head of that nation, who had their seat of government at Kapchak, and afterwards at Astrachan.

We are indebted to the Chinese for what little is known of the early history of the Huns ; and as, when this race were expelled from Tartary and wandered westward, they ceased to have any intimate connection with their conquerors, we are deprived of any authentic records of their first settlement on the shores of the Caspian sea. The Alani, a branch of the Hun family, were, according to Ptolemy, anciently located in the north, above the sources of the River Jaïk, which flows into the Caspian sea ; but they gradually spread to the south, and eventually occupied the same country as the Huns. About A.D. 73, they entered Media by Derbend, whence they were, in A.D. 134, expelled by the Emperor Hadrian. They, at a later period, rendered themselves powerful by receiving and adopting into their tribe many of the smaller and inferior branches of the original stock ; and occupied the country from the plains of Sarmatia and the Palus Mæotis (Sea of Asoff) to the mountains of Hindustan at the source of the Ganges. They were at that time considered as—and called by the Chinese by the name

of—Huns, and are represented as leading the same kind of life ; but they were more gentle in manners, of greater stature although of slighter build, and handsomer and of fairer complexion than their cousins the Huns. This improvement in their physical characteristics was the result of removal to a more genial climate at the time of their secession from the parent stock. Forced by the Huns to quit the country they had adopted,* they sought a home in other lands. Some passed into Circassia, where their descendants still exist. Others, dispersing more to the westward, wandered about for a long period before they finally settled upon the banks of the Danube ; whence, about A.D. 406, they poured fourth to ravage Germany and Belgium, Gaul and Spain (dividing the possession of the latter with their companions in barbarism, the Vandals and the Suedes) ; and, over-running Lusitania, passed over to Carthage.

In the meantime the most considerable portion of the Alani had embraced the offers of an honourable and advantageous union with their

* The plains between the Volga and the Tanais were covered with the tents of the Alani, a pastoral people, who occupied or wasted an extensive tract of Scythia ; but their name and manners were diffused over the wide extent of their conquests and the painted tribes of the Agathys and Geloni were confounded among their vassals.—Gibbon's "Decline and Fall."

conquerors, the Huns ; who, thus reinforced, advanced to the invasion of the Gothic Empire. Their successful struggle with the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, and their passage of the Danube and invasion of the Roman Empire, at that time (A.D. 375) swayed by the timid counsels of the Emperor Valens, have been described by the masterly pen of Gibbon.

The description that Ammianus has given us of the Huns, of their frightful faces and barbarous manners, forcibly recalls the Calmucks and the Tartars of the present day. They were cunning, inconstant, without religion, greedy of riches, cruel, and passionate. They clothed themselves in skins, lived in the open air, and chiefly on horse-back, even while holding their councils of war.

The number of their wives was not determined by any law or custom ; they took as many as their fancy dictated, and without any regard to consanguinity. Attila married his daughter Eska. They had no conception of a deity, and, indeed, were totally devoid of any form of religion whatever.*

* In every age the immense plains of Scythia or Tartary have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement of a sedentary life. In every age the Scythians and Tartars have been renowned for their invincible courage and rapid conquests.—Gibbon's "Decline and Fall."

We will now proceed to collect and arrange the few facts which have come down to us respecting the origin of the Huns.

De Guignes in his "*Histoire Général des Huns*,"* says, the Chinese record that their neighbours, the Hiong-nu, became civilized under Kings of the Tanju, or Turk dynasty. The Persians also were acquainted with this people under the name of Mongols. Some historians have maintained that tribes of the Huns, expelled from Tartary by the Chinese, entered Hungary before the Christian era, and established themselves at Presburg. Other tribes, to avoid the tyranny of their conquerors, fled to the country bordering the river Jaxartes; which, rising in the table-lands and in the Musdagh on the frontiers of Chinese Turkistan, flows through Kokan and the Kerghis, parallel to the Oxus, though in a more tortuous channel, into the Sea of Aral, a length of 900 miles. These tribes were the ancestors of that race of Huns which, under the names of Chazars, Turks, Pichenegers, Bulgarians, etc., overran Europe. The name of Hun has been used also as a generic term for the Scythian or Sarmatian branch of the human race. Of the

* Vol. I., book iii. iv. vi.

subdivisions of this branch, the Turkomans or Turks, became most potent in the West, while their Eastern brothers bore the name of Tartar. Hence we shall probably not be far wrong if we conclude that the Scythian Sarmatians—Huns, Alans, Goths, Turks, and Tartars, are of one family—assuming, under varying circumstances and at diverse epochs, different names for reasons which we have before recorded.*

About the year 326 of our era, the Huns first entered the country through which flows the river Don, attacking and slaying the King of the Alans, and compelling the Alan tribe to accompany them in their intended expedition against the Ostrogoths; whom they eventually drove into Europe, taking possession of the territory which they had occupied for 1,500 years.

About this time also, Balamir, King of the Huns, set out from the Asiatic coast of the Sea of Asoff with a fleet of boats to attack Panticapæum, which he took; and re-crossing the Cimmerian Straits to the opposite shore, settled in the Island of Taman, which he completely subdued, mas-

* The tribes of Scythia, says Gibbon, distinguished by the modern appellation of hordes, assume the form of a numerous and increasing family, which, in the course of successive generations, *has been propagated from the same original stock.*

sacrificing all who would not submit to his rule. Shortly after, other tribes, under their leaders, Cutrigur and Utrigur, entered Europe; and, passing into the Crimea, brought it into subjection. The Utrigures, taking with them a Gothic tribe whom they found in the Crimea, crossed over to the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, leaving the Cutrigures in possession of the whole western coast of the Chersonesus, the inhabitants of which they oppressed, until they were themselves attacked and conquered, about the fifth century by the Ongri (or Hongres), who are alluded to by the Byzantine historians under the name of Turks.*

The Chinese historians, referring to the fable of the nurture of Romulus and Remus by a she-wolf, claim for the founder of the Turk race the same origin, and it is strange that all eastern traditions should agree in tracing the Turkish nation to a woman named Zena.† The first Turks were inhabitants of Altai, and were for the most part smiths. Their chief, Tu-muen, having

* The eastern historians, in relating the invasion of Persia by the Huns, call these latter Turks. The north of Persia, particularly Azerbaijan, is now inhabited by the descendants of this people, who all speak the *original* Turkish language.

† The word *Zena* in the Turkish language means "she-wolf."

extended his conquests over the surrounding countries, at length found himself at the head of 50,000 Tartar families. Wishing to extend and establish his power by a prudent alliance, he sent an ambassador to the Khan of the chief Tartar tribe, the Geugens, to solicit his daughter in marriage. The Khan, highly indignant at what he considered the presumption of Tu-muen—whom he regarded as his subject and bondman—in aspiring to ally himself with the family of an hereditary chieftain, returned a peremptory refusal. The offended chief of the Turks resented this rebuff by declaring war against the Geugen chief, and by soliciting and obtaining the hand of the daughter of the Emperor of China in marriage. He advanced at the head of an immense army composed of his own people, and largely increased by those of his powerful father-in-law, against the Khan of the Geugens, whose forces he utterly vanquished. The discomfited leader, in his despair, put an end to his own existence; and Tu-muen assumed the title of Il-khan,* giving

* We think that this particle (*il*) is connected with the Tartar word *ilk*, "the first," and being followed by *khan*, the last letter would merge into the succeeding word; and instead of "Ilk-khan," it would be softer and easier to say "Il-khan." We do not imagine that it is in any way connected with the Semetic article *il*. The Chinese historians give an account of Il-khan and his descendants

that of Khakan to his wife. Tu-muen subsequently established his court at Tugin, near the source of the river Irtish.

The Turks were at first followers of Zoroaster, whose tenets we shall not stop to discuss in these pages. Suffice it to say that he had established two principles—the Good and the Evil. The first was represented by light, Ormaz or Ormuz; and the second by darkness, Ahriman. It was only after they had conquered the countries held by the Arabs that the Turks adopted the religion which predominated in the country they had subjected. On some of the early Ortokite coins we may still see on the reverse the letter M, which represented Muhammad to their Arab subjects, and Mary to their Christian subjects, if the latter chose so to interpret the initial. On the obverse appears the Islamic profession of faith in Cufic characters—“There is no God but God, and Muhammad is his prophet.”

one by one, but it will not suit the object of this work to follow them in all their detail, for which we refer the reader to De Guignes' "History of the Huns."

[It has been our design throughout this chapter, to show that all the Gothic nations were one and the same people, although they are presented to us under various denominations by the historians who record their migrations and their conquests in different ages and in different parts of the world. Dr. Latham, the highest modern authority that can be cited, is of this opinion.]

CHAPTER XV.

THE CHAZAR BRANCH OF THE WESTERN
HUNS,

FROM A.D. 629 TO A.D. 840.

WHEN the Chinese, about A.D. 93, conquered and dispersed the Huns in various directions, one branch took possession of the country to the south of the Caspian Sea, along the banks of the Volga. This branch, called Cozar or Chazar, whose original name had been Cusa (a name still given by the Turks to sparsely bearded men with red hair*), made Astrachan their capital city.

In A.D. 627, their king was invited by the Emperor Heraclius to meet him at Tiflis; and being much honoured and flattered by him, was at last induced to send into Azerbaijan an army of 40,000 men to operate against the King of Persia, with whom Heraclius was then at war. They penetrated into Persia by the pass of

* Gibbon, in describing the Huns, says that they were almost destitute of beard.

Derbend under their general, Zibel, and then advanced with Heraclius to attack Khosroes, the Persian King. Heraclius had promised his daughter in marriage to Zibel, whose death in the following year freed him from the necessity of entering into so unwise an alliance.

The Chazars* some short time afterwards established themselves in the Chersonesus, extending their dominions into the provinces of the Ukraine and the southern part of Russia; and in A.D. 680, having vanquished the Huns who then occupied the country lying between the Caspian and the Sea of Asoff, they took possession of their territory, which extended from the Don to the river Kuban. The date of the first irruption of the Chazars is not precisely known; but in the time of Jornandes, the Gothic historian, they were already settled in Bulgaria and Lithuania.

From the year 527, the Emperor Justinian became the patron and protector of the inhabitants of the Chersonesus and of the Bosporus; and during his long reign they remained secure from the aggressions of the northern barbarians.

* This word is spelt in a variety of ways. Cosar, Cozar, Chozar, Khozar, and so on throughout almost all the vowels: and there is respectable authority for each variation.

In A.D. 695, Justinian II. was deposed by his general Leontius, and sent into exile to the Chersonesus, where he was detained for four years. During this period the throne of the Lower Empire was usurped by Apsimerus Tiberius; and, as it was feared that Justinian would attempt to recover his dominions, the Chersonites resolved to deliver him up to Tiberius. Justinian, apprised of their design, escaped to the court of Busiros, King of the Chazars, who received him honourably, and gave him his sister in marriage. Tiberius sent emissaries to Busiros to require the restoration of Justinian, and with instructions to enforce their demand by offering an unlimited sum of money for his head. The royal fugitive, warned by his wife and fearing that the bribe would prove irresistible, fled to Bulgaria, secured the assistance of the King of that country, and recovered his throne. His first act on resuming the imperial dignity was to send for his wife, whose faithfulness had saved him from the treachery of her brother, and to bestow, with fitting pomp and solemnity, on her the crown of Empress of the East. Having accomplished the dictates of his affection and his gratitude, his next thought was to gratify his resentment by punishing the

treachery of his betrayers; and for this purpose he fitted out a considerable fleet, which he despatched to Cherson with orders to exterminate the inhabitants of that city. The expedition consisted of upwards of 100,000 men, commanded by Maure-Baise, and Stephanos Asmietes. This vast army disembarked at Cherson; and, in pursuance of the sanguinary edict of the Emperor, put to death all who fell into their hands, sparing only the younger children. Justinian, whose appetite for vengeance was, however, not yet appeased, recalled Stephanos, commanding him to bring with him such of the Chersonites as he had not put to the sword. Stephanos set sail on his return, but was overtaken by a violent tempest which destroyed the vessels of his fleet and strewed the waters of the Euxine with the bodies of nearly 80,000 persons.

On hearing of this disaster, Justinian's savage joy was extreme; but his vengeance was not yet satiated. He despatched a second fleet, with orders to rase the very foundations of the city of Cherson, and to desolate the surrounding country. A small body of the Chersonites, who, on the occasion of the former attack, had taken

refuge in the mountains, and had, on the departure of Stephanos, returned to Cherson; sent to invoke the powerful aid of the King of the Chazars, and prepared in the meantime to fortify their city under the direction of Elias (who had been one of Justinian's generals, but had by some means fallen into disfavour), and an Armenian named Philippicus Bardanes. Justinian, somewhat dismayed at the formidable preparations for defence, sent ambassadors to open negotiations for a suspension of hostilities; but the Chersonites put them to death, and proclaimed Philippicus Bardanes Emperor. The enraged Justinian thereupon ordered Maure-Baises to commence the siege. They attacked and destroyed the town of Centenareses, and afterwards took Synagre. In this strait, Bardanes received important succour from the King of the Chazars, and was soon enabled to raise the siege. The enemy, who again endeavoured in vain to open negotiations for peace, were driven before the Chersonite army to Constantinople; and Justinian, abandoned by every one, and attempting to flee, was overtaken and put to death A.D. 711.

The Republic of Cherson had, however, suffered severely in these wars, and was much reduced

in consequence. Irene, daughter of one of the Khans of the Chazars, and married to Constantine Copronymus, son of Leon III., Emperor of the East, took the Republic under her special protection [A.D. 745], and rendering it essential service, turned into veneration its former hatred of the name of Chazar.

In A.D. 840, Petronus—who had been sent to the Chazar chief to assist him in the fortifications of Sarkel or Bielgorod, on the Donetz, and who had, on his way to the Sea of Asoff, visited Cherson—persuaded his master, the Emperor Theophilus, to constitute the province of Cherson together with the Greek cities as far as the river Kuban, a Roman province; thus destroying the last remnants of independence which remained to the Chersonites. They became subject to the Emperor, who stationed a fleet in their harbour to support his authority.

In A.D. 858, the Khan of the Chazars having desired of Michael III. some holy men to convert his people to Christianity; Constantine, son of Leon, and afterwards famous under the name of Saint Cyril; proceeded to Cherson to study the language of the Chazars, whom he subsequently proselytized. The Chersonites themselves had embraced Chris-

tianity in the third or fourth century, in the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine.

The Emperor Constantine regarded the Chersonesus as one of the most valuable of the imperial possessions, and inculcated in his son Romanor the same provident care as he had himself exhibited in encouraging the development of its commerce. As an illustration of this, we may mention that when the Grand Duke of Russia advanced to attack Constantinople, Romanor concluded a peace with him, in the terms of which it was expressly stipulated that the inhabitants of the Chersonesus should not be molested by the Russians, who had been accustomed to disturb them in their fishing-ground at the mouth of the Borysthenes (Dnieper).

But the internal dissensions of the Chazar race (which was at this time divided into three tribes, the chief of which—the tribe of Cabar—held possession of the provinces of the Caucasus, where their descendants still dwell), were destined to bring about an event which it had been the policy of the Emperors of the East to avert. The Russians, watching their opportunity, took advantage of the weakness and confusion occasioned by the domestic divisions of the Chersonites, and wrested from

them the provinces of Severia and Kovia on the western banks of the Borysthenes ; and Bielgorod was soon afterwards added to these territorial losses.

In 1016, Basilius II., Emperor of the East, on the occasion of some quarrel with their Khan, dispatched a fleet against the Chersonites, and co-operating with the naval forces of the Russian Grand Duke, invaded the country, and took the Khan Thalides prisoner. As a consequence of this success, the whole race became subject to Russia. In the 13th and 14th centuries, great exertions were made in the Christian world to send missions to convert them to Christianity. A large body of them were for a long period of time the useful and honoured mercenary troops of the Eastern Empire, whose rulers prudently cherished them, and frequently invited their chiefs to their State banquets.

Their decay may be, perhaps with justice, traced to their ingrained and obstinate barbarism. They were totally devoid of refinement ; they neglected the cultivation of the soil ; and the art of writing was almost unpractised among them. Their ignorance may be assumed from the fact that, except in their communications with the Court at Constantinople,

they never resorted to writing, even to convey the commands or wishes of their rulers to the generals and governors charged with the administration of the affairs of an extensive territory. The elements of permanence were wanting in a race so uncivilized and unimprovable; and the historian writes their history in a single sentence when he records the fact that they existed as an independent race for barely two centuries.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PICHENEGES AND COMANES, OTHER
BRANCHES OF THE HUN FAMILY,

FROM A.D. 822, TO A.D. 1237.

Nothing is known positively of the Picheneges.* They were supposed to be of Hunnic extraction, and to have remained in Asia when the other Hun tribes set out on their wanderings and achieved their conquests. When they began to threaten Europe with invasion, they were so much dreaded that the extensive fortress of Bielgorod was built [A.D. 834] to oppose their passage. About the middle of the ninth century they entered the Chersonesus, driving out the Ongri; and at the commencement of the tenth century they had so

* We cannot help fancying that the name of this tribe may be meant to typify their being the vanguard of the immense array of Scythian tribes, when they first moved in combination with each other from east to west; and that the title remained to them after they had settled down in the Crimea. The word *Pich* means 'front,' and *nik*, 'good,' 'excellent'; hence 'brave,' and thence used substantively, as we might say 'our foremost braves.' The conversion of the *k* to *g* in the word *nik* is easily accounted for in the mouth of strangers.

increased in numbers and authority that they became masters of the entire peninsula, and of several provinces situated between the respective territories of the Chazars and the Russians, east and west of the Dnieper.

The barbarians who at different times overran the Chersonesus seem to have made themselves masters only of the plain country, from which the inhabitants retired to the mountains, where they were allowed to maintain a *quasi* independence, on payment of tribute. The inhabitants of the city of Cherson and the Greek towns of the Bosphorus (Panticapæum, etc.), usually saved themselves from attack by the presentation of contributions in money to the conquerors.

The Picheneges were a nomad race. They maintained war against the Greeks and Bulgarians for two centuries; and about A.D. 915—920, they commenced their invasion of the Russian territories, laying siege to Rustchuk on the Danube, the then seat of government of the Russian Grand Duke Sviateslav. In the Chersonesus they gradually settled down to a semi-civilized life. Laying aside their barbarous manners and wandering habits, and engaging in the pursuits of commerce, they won the favour of the Emperors of the East;

and the inhabitants of the Taurica Chersonesus, so far from treating them as barbarians and strangers, gradually learned to respect them, although they never ceased to dread their power. Their commerce with the Lower Empire rapidly increased in importance, as they brought from the interior of Asia all those articles of luxury and display which were most acceptable to the court and people of Byzantium. Purple-dye, silks, ermine and other rich furs, leopard skins, rare spices and gums, and other articles of commerce—the richest products of Asia—found ready purchasers amongst the effeminate and magnificent inhabitants of the capital of the Eastern Empire.

The commercial prosperity of the Picheneges was not, however, destined to endure. Having abandoned their warlike habits, they were unfitted to cope with the enemies who rose against them; and, about a century after their first appearance in the Crimea, they succumbed to the Comanes, another Hunnic tribe; and quitting the Chersonesus, wandered into Europe, where the traces of their race are lost in that of the Wallacks.

At the time when the Picheneges subjugated the Geugens, and took possession of the European shore of the Bosphorus, the Russians were masters

of the country on the Asiatic coast, and had concluded a treaty with Constantine IV. This treaty was, however, totally disregarded by the Russian Grand Dukes Sviateslav and Vladimir, who successively attacked and ultimately conquered the Chersonesus between the years 965 and 998 A.D. Vladimir, who was afterwards sur-named the Apostle and Solomon of Russia, had lately embraced the tenets of the Greek Church, and had vowed to celebrate his conversion in the city of Cherson, where he had determined to be baptized. Having fixed a quarrel on the Chersonites, he appeared before their city with a considerable fleet; and sent for his son Msteslav, whom he had left in authority at the island of Taman, to come to his assistance. The Chersonites made preparations for a determined resistance. The fosse, or ditch, at the foot of the wall of their fortifications having been filled up with rubbish, they excavated tunnels from the interior of the town to the trench, and gradually cleared it of all obstructions.*

An aqueduct had, in very ancient times, been

* In 1783 Lieutenant-Colonel Baldwin, who was sent by Potemkin to Cherson, declared that he had seen these subterranean tunnels over the ruins of ancient Cherson.

erected, extending from some springs situate on the eastern heights outside the town into the heart of the city: and upon this source the ancient Cherson, like the modern Sebastopol, depended for its supply of water. Vladimir adopted a course which, in our times, motives either of policy or humanity have not usually permitted: he diverted the channel, and thus cut off the supply. The inhabitants were consequently compelled to capitulate; and the conqueror, having exacted the arrears of tribute which he claimed, formally abandoned his acquisition in a treaty of peace which he concluded with the two Emperors. Before retiring, he caused himself to be baptized here, and the entire army followed his example. It may also be mentioned that, about this time, he married the princess Anne (daughter of the King of Bulgaria and niece of the two Emperors), who had been brought from her father's court under the care of the bishop, Michael.

The city of Cherson, restored to its former independence, quickly rose, like a phoenix from its ashes; and industry and commerce once more flourished within its walls. Jealous of the growing importance of the neighbouring town of Soudagh, which seemed likely to prove a formidable rival

by its commercial activity and its rising prosperity, the Chersonites petitioned the Emperor Michael Palæologus VII. to grant them certain exclusive privileges ; but the Emperor, influenced by motives of policy and justice (wise in his generation, and an early advocate of free-trade principles), declined to comply with their request ; and they, resenting his refusal, took advantage of the occasion of his being involved in a war with the King of Bulgaria to revolt against his authority. The Emperor thereupon solicited the aid of the Grand Duke of Russia, who sent an army under his sons Vladimir and Glebes, to punish the Chersonites [A.D. 1078]. In the meantime Michael died, and his successor on the throne of the Eastern Empire, Nicephorus Botoniates, not being on such friendly terms with Russia as his predecessor, the Grand Duke recalled his army. The hostile demonstration against the Chersonites had, however, been sufficient to revive their ancient feelings of animosity ; and, towards the end of the 11th century, they seized a number of vessels belonging to the Russians. The then Emperor of the East, not having acceded to the terms demanded of him in satisfaction for this outrage, Vladimir Monomaches marched at the head of a

body of Turk and Chazar troops whom he had taken into his pay, to exact the compensation which was denied him. He attacked the Chersonite army drawn up near Kaffa; and, gaining a complete victory, mulcted the vanquished inhabitants in the expenses of the war, and compelled them to restore what they had originally seized in contravention of law and justice. History—a record of events, similar in character and teaching, occurring and recurring in successive ages—seems here to furnish a model for imitation in a parallel case in our own times.

In the next year, however, the Chersonites, unmindful of the help afforded them by the Emperor Alexis, rose against him, and invested with the imperial purple a pretended son of Diogenes Romanor, who shortly afterwards paid the penalty of his presumption; for, falling into the Emperor's power, he was by him put to death, A.D. 1096.

During the time of which we have been speaking (from about A.D. 1030 to A.D. 1094), the Island of Taman seems to have remained under the rule of Russian princes. Towards the end of the eleventh and the commencement of the twelfth century, the Comanes (yet another branch of the prolific race of Huns), were called in by the Picheneges to assist

them in their wars with the Eastern Emperors ; and, having thus obtained a footing, they took advantage of the intestine wars of the Russians to possess themselves of the Chersonesus, and thus became enriched at the expense of their quarrelsome neighbours. The Comanes, who led the same kind of life as the other nomad hordes of the same original stock, were compelled by their idle and non-productive habits to be warlike and brave ; and sometimes, in sheer desperation, enterprising and adventurous. They had at first prudently agreed to pay tribute to the Goths (the then possessors of the country) for the use of the land in the plains about their settlement ; but, when they became sufficiently powerful, they discontinued these payments ; and, after a time, even retaliated making their former masters tributary to them during the time they continued to occupy the Chersonesus—a period of nearly two centuries. In A.D. 1227, they were, in their turn, driven out by the Mogul Tartars, most of them passing into Europe and taking refuge with their old enemies, the Russians ; who, forgetting their ancient feuds, received them hospitably : thus demonstrating that civilization had already made some progress, and had produced important

ameliorations in the West as far back as the thirteenth century. The Comanes embraced the Christian religion; and, becoming amalgamated with the Russians, soon lost all traces of their peculiar identity.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE GENOESE AND VENETIANS,
AND THEIR COLONIES,

FROM A.D. 1378 TO A.D. 1478.

WE have now arrived at what we may call the European or Middle Age period in the history of the Crimea, a period in which its commercial importance began to be first felt in modern Europe.

The commerce with Asia, which produced and exported so many of what were then deemed the luxuries (if not the necessities, as they have in our day become) of life, was carried on by the route of the Caspian and Black Seas—the communications by the two rivers Phasis and Cyrus, if not continuous, as some historians have contended, at least rendered the traffic between the two seas very convenient. The vicinity of the Cimmerian Bosphorus to the Don and Volga, from whose banks it was but a short distance by land, naturally led to its being—before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope—the route for the European commerce with China, and with northern India and

Persia ; and the attention of the maritime nations of Europe became thus directed to this peninsula.

With a view to the extension of their commerce, the merchant-princes of Genoa, at that time the most important of the cities of Europe in a commercial point of view ; founded their first establishment at Theodosia, on the south coast of the peninsula. They bought land on which to erect a factory and a few houses and magazines ; agreed to pay customs' dues ; and undertook not to interfere with the commercial privileges of the other towns in the Chersonesus. As their commerce increased, they gradually obtained other concessions, such as a separate harbour for their commercial marine, and grants of land for purposes of cultivation. In progress of time materials for the erection of forts, with large supplies of munitions of war, were brought from Italy ; and the territory which had been ceded to the Genoese was put in a state of defence, and surrounded with a deep fosse surmounted by a rampart. Thus Theodosia, or Kaffa as it was called by them, became the entrepôt and centre of their commerce in the Black Sea.

The rivalry between the two maritime States of Genoa and Venice, led the Venetians, early in the

thirteenth century, to establish a colony at Tana (the modern Asoff),—which they maintained for nearly two centuries,—for the purpose of carrying on the commerce with Asia by means of the Black Sea. When the Mogul Tartars had entirely expelled the Comanes from the Chersonesus, they naturally turned to these two commercial settlements, the wealth of which they might infer from the large contributions of gold and money with which the inhabitants of both Kaffa and Tana had frequently purchased the forbearance of their warlike neighbours. Every year Venice dispatched two fleets freighted with produce; one destined for the Phasis, the other for the Tanais. This aroused the jealousy of the Genoese, who sought an alliance with Michael Palæologus [A.D. 1262], to obtain from him a treaty for the exclusive navigation of the Black Sea by way of the Thracian Bosphorus. In this design a blow was aimed at the rising trade of the merchants of Pisa, who had founded a small colony at Asoff, as well as at the supremacy of the Venetian Republic.

The Emperor of Kapchak, the then Sovereign of the Crimea,—having adopted the Muhammadan religion, in which example he was followed—as was, indeed, the facile habit of the times—by all

his subjects,—the Saracens of Egypt began to frequent the Tauric peninsula for the purposes of commerce. Kaffa was meanwhile assuming, under the rule of Doria, all the characteristics of a second Genoa, and was being strongly fortified. The indolent Tartars left the colonists undisturbed; but these had little to fear except from their rivals, the Venetians; though they were assailed by the Emperor of Kapchak, and by him compelled to pay an annual tribute in order to secure themselves from the continual attacks of the Moguls.

In the year 1294, the war between Venice and Genoa broke out; and Morosini, the Venetian Admiral, appeared with a fleet of 60 galleys before Kaffa, which, being without troops or other means of defence, was easily captured. The season being far advanced, the conquerors wintered there; but, in the year 1296, the two Republics, tired of measuring their strength with each other, concluded peace, and the Genoese recovered possession of the place.

In 1262, the Mogul Tartars having attacked Armenia and taken the cities of Casan and Astrachan, the inhabitants solicited and obtained permission from their victors to form colonies near Kaffa, the country between Karasu-bazar and

Soudagh was allotted to them for that purpose. Many also took up their residence at Old Krim, which they named Kazarat.

It may also be mentioned that, at this time, the Genoese colony received a large accession of inhabitants from the mother-country, who settled in the tract situated between Kaffa and the Bosporus. These additions raised Kaffa to the position of the most important city of the peninsula; and its inhabitants were not slow to exhibit the pride they felt in the power they had acquired, and in their superiority to the barbarian masters of the country. A quarrel between two merchants—a Genoese and a Tartar,—in which the latter was killed, brought matters to a crisis. Jani-beg invested the place with a besieging army, pillaging the country seats of the opulent merchants in the environs of the city; and the infuriated Genoese made a vigorous sortie, in which they put to the sword 5,000 Tartars. Their vessels surrounded the coasts, and accomplished several successful descents, so that the Moguls in turn became themselves besieged; and were compelled to send an ambassador to Boccanegra, Governor of Kaffa, to sue for peace, which was at length concluded between the two states.

In the year 1349, the Genoese, always jealous of any interference with what they considered their exclusive privilege — the commerce of the Black Sea,—seized some Venetian merchant ships. This was the cause of an inglorious and resultless war, in which neither party was the gainer ; and, at the close of which, in 1357, the relative position of the combatants remained unchanged.

Godefroy Zoaglio, the valiant and prudent Governor of Kaffa, took advantage of the suspension of hostilities to improve, extend, and complete its fortifications ; and Kaffa at length became the resort of all who wished to avoid the oppressions and exactions of the Muhammadan rulers of the country. The Tartars, contented with receiving the yearly tribute, left the command of the place entirely in the hands of the Genoese ; and, satisfied with the possession of the plains, where their immense herds might roam at pleasure, abandoned the towns and fortified cities, the importance of which they were unable to appreciate.

It may, however, be cited as an illustration of the influence of civilization on the character of barbarous nations brought into contact with it ; that the Moguls never elected a chief, or decided

any difficult or important questions arising among themselves, without consulting the European colonists. The homage thus paid to their superiority, gave the Genoese great facilities for accomplishing their design of obtaining possession of all the important places in the Crimea. Among these, the town of Soudagh more especially excited their cupidity. This city was so extensive, that it contained in 1363 no less than one hundred churches; and although it had been somewhat "shorn of its fair proportions" when the Genoese civilized the Chersonesus, it formed the nucleus of the power they afterwards acquired over the whole of the southern coast of the Crimea.

In 1378, hostilities again broke out between the two Republics, on the vexed question of the exclusive right to the passage of the Dardanelles, which involved the commerce of the Black Sea, claimed by the Genoese for themselves. The latter had become so much weakened that, unequal to the prosecution of the war, they renounced their pretensions, and admitted the equal privilege of the Venetian colony of Tana. The Venetians actively employed the succeeding ten years in establishing and increasing a system of communication with the interior of Asia; and in 1388

they concluded a treaty with the Soldan of Egypt, which enabled them to procure from the merchants of that country the rich and important produce of India, brought by way of the Persian Gulf to Bagdad, and thence by Tabriz to Trebizond. The old route by which Asiatic productions found their way to Europe—that of the Red Sea to Alexandria—was also subsequently secured by the Venetians ; and these checks to Genoese commerce seriously affected the prosperity of their colony at Kaffa. The only route that remained to the Genoese was that by Bokhara and Khiva across the Caspian Sea and thence to Tabriz. But when Tamerlane, in 1395, took Tana, the commerce which the Venetians had hitherto carried on by means of the Sea of Asoff was also diverted to the Bokhara route. Tamerlane had sworn to respect the property and persons of the Venetians, but had never intended to act up to this vow. As soon, therefore, as he entered the town at the head of his victorious army, the place was given up to pillage, and all the male Christian population put to the sword.

Kaffa would probably have shared a similar fate, had it not been for the valour of Godefroy Zoaglio, its commander, who, at the head of a

chosen body of followers, made a vigorous resistance, and repulsed the invaders.

In the year 1428 Hajji Daulet Gerai,* who had raised himself to the sovereignty of the Tartar race in the Chersonesus, took the Genoese under his protection, fostering their commerce and improving their position in relation to his barbarian subjects; for he had the wisdom to see that the race he governed were totally unfitted for those commercial pursuits which were essential to the prosperity of the country.

In 1433 a small Venetian fleet under Charles Lomellini, which was conveying a body of colonists to Kaffa, called off Balaklava; and finding the place in revolt against the Tartars, took it by assault. This trifling success so elated the Genoese that they demanded from Hajji Gerai compensation for the losses the inhabitants of Kaffa had received in the Tartar attack on their city. Hajji refused to comply with their demands, and the Republic of Genoa thereupon declared war against him. The maritime importance of Genoa was at this time (1453)

* He took the name of "Gerai" from a habit which he had of repeating this word, which means "Good!" "Well!" on every possible occasion. He had come originally from Lithuania, and was a native of Lida.

on its wane, and being unable to furnish further aid to its distant colony, it was only by the payment of a large tribute that the Republic could obtain from the Sultans of Constantinople a free passage for their vessels into the Black Sea. The real power of the Republic was extinct. The commerce with India had passed from them; and with that had also passed away their wealth and commercial importance—the sources of their power. A large army was despatched from Genoa which, disembarking at Kaffa, marched towards the Bosphorus in 'proud and fatal contempt of the Tartar troops who were gathering in their rear, and by whom they were overtaken, dispersed, and driven to their ships.

The Genoese colonists had never been able to resist the temptation to interference in the internal affairs of the Tartar government, which was presented in the rudeness and simplicity of the dominant race. Their meddling however, was sometimes resented, when—encouraged by impunity—it assumed the shape of tyrannical authority or overbearing dictation. The intrigues into which the Genoese entered for the purpose of installing their favourites on the

throne, and even in the subordinate places of authority and influence at length induced the Tartars to exchange a nominal independence under the burdensome yoke of the Christians, for subjection to a Power which had at least some claim upon their confidence as the champion of a common faith. In 1461 they invited Mahmoud II., the then Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, to take possession of their country. He responded to their invitation, and, closing the entrance into the Black Sea, prevented all intercourse with Europe by the Genoese settlers of Kaffa, and then dispatched a powerful fleet and an army of 20,000 men under his vizier, Ahmed Pasha, to the Crimea. The colony of Kaffa surrendered at discretion to this overwhelming force ; but its submission did not prevent the Turks from pillaging the city, although they spared the lives of the inhabitants. Forty thousand Genoese were sent to Constantinople, and afterwards assigned a residence at Galata. The youths of Kaffa, 1500 in number, were torn from their homes and trained as slaves of the Sultan or as recruits for his army. The walls of the city had been completely battered by the modern artillery employed by the Turks, and all the principal buildings were rased to the ground.

Such was the fate of the colony which had flourished under the rule of the Genoese for more than four centuries, and which declined only with the decline of the parent State.

The Turks proceeded in their career of conquest in the Crimea, attacking the various European settlements at Soudagh, Balaklava, and Inkermann; and exterminating, or sending into slavery to Constantinople, all who fell into their hands. Cherson, Tanais, Panticapæum and the other towns of the Bosphorus, fell without an attempt at resistance. Mangoup, situated almost at the summit of a mountain, and considered impregnable, was surrounded by the victorious army with the intention of reducing it by famine, but the governor, worn out with *ennui*, could not resist the temptation of trying a little sport with his hawks, and being surprised and taken prisoner, the place was delivered up to the Turks. The Genoese who had taken refuge there endeavoured to make their escape by a gate on the north side of the city, but were overtaken and put to the sword. Mengli Gerai, who had succeeded his father, Hajji Daulet Gerai, as Khan of the Crimea, fell into the hands of the Turks, and was sent to Constantinople; and the Genoese (who still possessed

many towns in the interior, from which it was difficult to expel them, seeing that they had been for four centuries extending and consolidating their power,) sent messengers to him, praying him to intercede for them with the Sultan. It is necessary to mention here that Mengli had been sent by his father Hajji to the Genoese at Kaffa for his education. He had been brought up with all honour; and the Genoese had, eighteen years later, seated him on the throne left vacant by the death of his father. The Sultan reinstated Mengli in the sovereignty of the Crimea; and he, on his return, entered into a treaty with the Genoese, and otherwise took means to show that he was not ungrateful for their considerate and generous treatment of him in former years. He, however no sooner found himself in a position to throw off the mask, than, supported by the Turkish troops, he attacked the Genoese, and put them to the sword, sparing only some few who had been his personal friends during his youth, and upon whom he concentrated the gratitude that was due to the whole nation. A story is related which strikingly illustrates the vindictive and treacherous nature equally of the Genoese and the Tartars. The Governor of Old Krim, a Genoese, having offered (as a proof of his

desire to be reconciled to the Khan's government) his daughter in marriage to the son of Mengli Gerai, took care to impress upon her mind that she would render her own people an important service by contriving the murder of her husband. Mengli, on the other hand, strove to inculcate in his son the pious duty of ridding the world of his future father-in-law. The Genoese, having discovered the amiable intentions of the Khan, caused his son to be arrested; and Mengli, indignant at this act, directed the indiscriminate massacre of the Genoese. He spared only the Armenians and Greeks, who were transported to the plains of the Peninsula.

The Republic of Genoa felt the irreparable loss it had sustained in the destruction of its important colonies in the Crimea, and its merchants endeavoured for some time to carry on the commerce with India by the Caspian Sea with the aid of the Tartar inhabitants of the Peninsula; but the Turks interfered and rendered the project impossible by closing the passage into the Black Sea. Always indifferent to the interest of the countries which have had the misfortune to fall under their rule, the Turks subsequently put an entire stop to the communication between Genoa and the

merchants of the Crimea by Constantinople, and the Crimea thus lost the commerce which had been the source of its power and splendour, and which had made it from very early times an important portion of the Eastern Empire. Kaffa again passed into the hands of the Tartars, who held it till A.D. 1577, when the Turks dispossessed Muhammad Khan, the then Tartar sovereign. It continued for some time to be a place of third-rate importance ; but its glory had departed when the victorious troops of Sultan Mahmoud first appeared before it, and it never recovered the splendour and the power which had enabled it to fill so large a space in history, and so greatly to influence the fate of empires.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE MONGOLS, OR TARTARS,

A.D. 1223 TO A.D. 1423.

It must be borne in mind that all the barbarian hordes who for so long a period continued to pour into Europe from Asia, were of the same original family or stock. This was the uniform process—a certain barbarous tribe invaded a country, driving out most of the inhabitants, and taking possession of it; but gradually acquiring settled habits, and becoming enervated by the life of cities, they were unfitted to cope with their barbarous kinsmen, who, leading a nomad life on the confines of civilization, came in turn to dispossess them of the country they had themselves obtained in a similar way. This process was repeated during many centuries with perfect uniformity of result. The incursion of the Mongols or Tartars, formed one

of these "processes,"—they came from the same country, the wild steppes of Tartary, whence had come in previous times the Comanes, whose place they took in the Crimea.

The Don, the Volga, and the Oural rivers rise and flow through the countries from which all these tribes originally came, and the Mongol kings who reigned there had fixed their residence at Kapchak, which was situated a little to the north of the modern city of Khiva. In the summer the Court moved to the vast plains at the mouth of the Caspian sea ; and occasionally to Samarkand.

The vast empire which Genghis Khan bequeathed to his sons did not satisfy their ambition. The eldest son, who reigned at Kapchak, invaded and subjugated the Crimea in A.D. 1223. Bathu Khan, his next brother, passed the Volga, overcame the Russians, who alone were able to oppose any effectual barrier, and exterminated the Comanes, the last branch of the Tartar race who had established themselves in the Crimea. The Mongol Tartars thus became the neighbours of the Genoese colonists on the coast.

In the fluctuating and uncertain fortunes of their empire, the wearers of the imperial purple at Byzantium were content to receive support

from, and to contract alliances with, any chief who became formidable or powerful; and thus we have seen Michael Palæologus giving his daughter in marriage to Nogaia, the general of the Mongol Tartars; who shortly after, seceding from the great bulk of his tribe, retired with his followers, called the Nogai Tartars, to the country at the south of the Sea of Asoff. Here this tribe, not intermixing with the great body of the Tartar nation, has continued to dwell, and preserves to this day all the strongly-marked peculiarities of the Mongol race.

In A.D. 1266, Mengli Khan, Emperor of Kapchak, raised the Crimea into a kingdom for his nephew, Omar, who chose for his residence the city of Cimmerium, more generally called Crim; which, becoming the chief place, gave its name to the whole peninsula. It was a city of great extent and importance, with colleges, mosques, public buildings, and all the establishments appertaining to a great capital. It was the seat of an extensive commerce; caravans visited it regularly from all parts of Asia; and its inhabitants boasted that the swiftest horseman could not ride round it between sunrise and sunset.

In A.D. 1276, Omar was called by his uncle to

assist him in the extermination of a race called Yaziks, who inhabited the vast plains watered by the Don and the Dnieper. In this expedition, in which he received the assistance of some Russian tribes, he was entirely successful; and, with a gratitude rare in those days, bestowed considerable sums of money as well as rich presents on his coadjutors the Russians.

It was, of course, the policy of the Emperors of Kapchak to retain the sovereignty of the Crimea in themselves, even though they delegated their authority to some one whom they dignified with the title of Khan. But those to whom this power was delegated, though connected by similarity of race, origin, and religion, began gradually to feel a desire to shake off the yoke imposed on them; and becoming, as a consequence of their mixture with polished nations and peoples in their commercial transactions, more civilized, they learned to despise their titular suzerains.

A plague which broke out at Kapchak in 1348 committed great ravages and thinned considerably the Tartar population, at the same time driving many families to take refuge among their cousins the Tartars of the Crimea. The Khans of the

Crimea, reinforced by this accession of numbers, ventured to invade Europe in 1357, and successfully attacked the provinces of the Ukraine and Podolia, "annexing" them to their dominions.

The Christian inhabitants of the Crimea during this period had made various efforts to improve their position among the haughty and overbearing Mahomedans ; and, in A.D. 1376, determined to strike a blow for their independence. They invited the aid of Tocatmish, a descendant of the great Genghis Khan, who came and took possession of the government. He was, however, soon forced to return to his capital, which had revolted against him in favour of his nephew, Urus ; and it was only by the assistance of Tamerlane that he was enabled to regain his throne.

Timur Kutkluk had been compelled to renounce his right of succession to the throne of Kapchak ; but at a later period he determined to contest it with the then sovereign, and was only diverted from his project by the conquest of the Crimea, which he entered during an interregnum, causing himself to be elected Padishah. This chief showed much of the talent and personal valour of his grandfather Genghis, and afforded on many occasions considerable support to the Greek emperors.

The eternal disorders in the kingdom of Kapchak seemed moreover to secure the continuance of his power in the newly-acquired government.

History is somewhat obscure as to the ultimate fate of Kutkluk, but he seems to have lost his authority in the Crimea in the struggle for the throne of Kapchak, which, with the assistance of Tamerlane, he afterwards won. He is supposed to have died at Kapchak, A.D. 1401. Seven years later we hear of the uncle of Kutkluk, who had succeeded his nephew in the sovereignty of the Crimea, being engaged in a war against Russia, and pursuing the enemy to the very gates of Moscow. His successor in the sovereignty of the Crimea was Hajji Daulet Gerai, a remarkable man, and to whose reign we must devote a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XIX.

HAJJI DAULET GERAI.

FROM A.D. 1423 TO A.D. 1467.

Hajji Daulet Gerai, who, in A.D. 1423, assumed the sovereignty of the Crimea, inaugurated a new era in its history. In his relations with neighbouring potentates, he pursued a policy which was in marked contrast with that of his predecessors ; and which secured the confidence of his allies and the respect of his enemies. At his death he left to his successor a kingdom which, under his wise government, had become civilized, prosperous, and firmly established. He was a prince of the Mogul dynasty, a descendant of Genghis Khan ; and was born at Troki, in Lithuania. We have no reliable records of the series of events which finally led to his elevation to the throne of the Crimea ; but we learn that, at

the zenith of his power, his dominions comprised besides the Crimea, the tract of country called Little Tartary, the eastern boundary of which was formed by the Mins, a river which falls into the Sea of Asoff (the western limit of the empire of Kapchak); and the northern boundary by the river Samara, which, falling into the Borys-thenes (Dnieper), separated it from the dominions of Russia; while the river Dnieper, flowing from north to west, divided Little Tartary from Podolia and the Duchy of Kiovia. Hajji is described to have possessed an easy disposition; and, perhaps as much from temper as from policy, he respected the territorial boundaries of his neighbours, the Lithuanians and Poles; who, appreciating and reciprocating his moderation, maintained amicable relations with him; especially as he undertook to protect them from the barbarian hordes on the further side of the Dnieper. In pursuance of the policy he had adopted, Hajji, about the year A.D. 1450, advanced at the head of his army to assist Casimir, King of Podolia, on the invasion of his dominions by Seid Ahmed, Khan of Kapchak, who was signally defeated, taken prisoner by the Crim Tartar army, and delivered up to Casimir. About ten years later the King of Podolia refused to pay

the annual subsidy of 10,000 florins he had undertaken to contribute, and Hajji therefore entered Podolia and Russia, to exact what was so ungratefully withheld. In 1463 his Genoese subjects in the Crimea solicited his permission to raise a body of men in Podolia for the purpose of repelling an attack upon their city, Kaffa, by Mahmoud II., the Sultan of Constantinople; but as Hajji was particularly anxious to maintain a good understanding with the rulers of the Ottoman empire, he declined to render the required aid. In 1465, in accordance with his practice of strengthening his government by conferring favours on his brother monarchs, he lent the assistance of his arms to the Russians, then engaged in resisting the invasion of their territory by the Khan of Kapchak, who had advanced with a large army to the banks of the Don. In this year Pope Paul II. sent Luis of Bologna, the Franciscan Patriarch of Antioch, as ambassador to Hajji, to solicit his aid in the crusade which that Pontiff was preaching against Mahmoud II.; but Hajji, true to his principle of non-interference with the Ottoman Power, resolved not to comply.

In the following year the reign of this monarch was brought to a close. He died, leaving the

Crimea an independent State, and in amity with the neighbouring sovereigns. He had been educated in the school of adversity, and he did not allow prosperity to dazzle or mislead him. In his political alliances with neighbouring States he seems to have favoured the Poles, and to have carefully avoided quarrelling with the Russians,—who, in his time, under their Grand Duke Vassilivitsch, held the Tartar race in supreme contempt. The code of political morality which he imposed upon himself induced him to respect the *quasi*-independence of Kaffa, which was, in truth, a small Republic. This reticence was the more honourable in Hajji, inasmuch as the Genoese did not always assist him ; and, on more than one occasion, took up arms against him. Hajji was too wise to resent either their neutrality or their hostility. He regarded the Genoese as the importers and diffusers of civilized habits among his Tartar subjects, and as the producers and distributors of the wealth of his kingdom ; and, for the services they rendered him in these respects, he seems to have been willing to overlook their shortcomings in other matters. He was free from the religious prejudices so common to the followers of Islam, which may be accounted for by

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the fact that the Tartars were never very devoted disciples of the Prophet; and changed their religion with a facility which does not permit us to doubt that, like the Vicar of Bray, if not remarkable for the sincerity and firmness of their religious convictions, they were, in all their changes, invariably true to their own interests.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CRIMEA UNDER THE DESCENDANTS OF
HAJJI DAULET GERAİ.

Hajji Daulet Geraï had eight sons, who, upon the death of their father competed for the throne, enforcing their claims with all the means in their power, and with various success. Nour-Daulet and Haider in turn assumed the sovereignty, but each only for a short time. In A.D. 1469, Mengli, who, as has been stated, had been brought up under the care of the Genoese, and had resided during the latter years of his father's life at Kaffa, succeeded in obtaining and establishing himself on the throne. He was the sixth son of Hajji Daulet; and on his first accession he so much favoured the Genoese, by whose assistance he had obtained the kingdom, that his Tartar subjects formed a confederacy against him, and he was treacherously given up at the siege of Mangoup, A.D. 1475, to

the Turks, who carried him to Constantinople. Here he was detained for three years, when the Sultan Mahmoud II., anxious to secure the sovereignty of the Peninsula, exacted from him an oath of fealty, and permitted him to reoccupy his father's throne. The Tartars, weary of civil war and intestine commotion, hailed his return with rejoicings, and regarded Mahmoud II. as the restorer of order and tranquillity among them. Mengli Gerai possessed none of the great qualities which distinguished his father. His capacity was unequal to the task of wise government; and in his relations with neighbouring monarchs he was faithless, vacillating, and treacherous. His life was passed in making incursions upon the territories of his weaker neighbours, and in deceiving and betraying his equals in power who sought his alliance. During the wars which the Kings of Poland waged against Russia, he accepted bribes from each party, and violated his engagements to both. Such indeed appears to have been his ordinary practice. Neither the claims of gratitude, nor the obligations of solemn treaties could bind a sovereign who seems to have been incapable of a generous impulse, or of an honorable sentiment; and who is chiefly distinguished for his strict

impartiality in betraying and disappointing all who trusted him.

By the wars of aggression which this unworthy monarch carried on against Lithuania, Russia, and the sovereigns of Kapchak, he depopulated his kingdom; and, to restore what he had thus lost, brought from the countries he had devastated immense numbers of captives whom he sold as slaves in the various cities of his dominions. But, amidst all his successes, he was insensible to the degradation of holding his authority from the Ottoman Porte; and was intent only upon enriching himself, and acquiring the means of satisfying the insatiable demands of the savage chiefs and soldiery whom his lawless habits drew around him, by new aggressions, often made in mere wantonness. At one time he attacked the Poles, pretending to consider himself bound in honour to assist his neighbours, the Russians; and at another time he assailed the Khans of Kapchak for no reason which he dared assign, although his real object was perhaps to recruit the population his perpetual wars had exhausted. Signing treaties, the conditions of which he never intended to observe; dishonouring the obligations of hospitality, which are recognized by the most unculti-

vated races ; and false in every transaction of his life, he nevertheless contrived to make himself necessary to all the contending parties ; and, on one occasion made such adroit use of the advantage he had obtained by his temporizing and uncertain policy, that he received a large subsidy from Sigismund I., King of Poland, in consideration of the aid he undertook to afford that monarch in his war against the Czar of Russia. He so far fulfilled his engagement in this instance, that he attacked and vanquished the Czar ; but he suffered him to retreat unmolested on payment of an immense contribution ; and, to crown all, exacted from his ally, the King of Poland a large sum as compensation for refraining from pillaging the towns and cities which he passed through on his return to the Crimea.

The ruling principle—if principle it can be called—of his policy was to watch events, to side with the strong against the weak, and to shift his alliances whenever success crowned the efforts of those who had been his enemies. His reign was one long scene of lawless disorder and violence ; and, during the latter part of it, whilst ruling under the protection of Sultan Mahmoud, he became particularly obnoxious both to his subjects and to

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neighbouring princes ; and he died amid the rejoicings of all classes, leaving a son who was worthy to be his successor—Mahomed Gerai Khan, of whom we shall presently have to speak.

During the last years of Mengli's reign, the rivalry which had existed between the Republics of Venice and Genoa was in a great measure extinguished by the losses which the latter power sustained from the victorious armies of Mahmoud II. The Venetians, intent upon seizing this opportunity of increasing their influence and commerce, obtained from the Sultan the right of free navigation of the Black Sea, in consideration of the payment of the sum of 10,000 ducats. They maintained a fleet of twenty-four vessels of war to protect their flag, four of which were always stationed in the ports of their flourishing colony of Tana.

Large as was the sum paid for the right to trade in and navigate the Euxine, the Venetians contrived to carry on a highly lucrative commerce. The fine white wax, manufactured into candles, and used by the eastern Courts and in the gorgeous ceremonies of the churches of Catholic Italy, was one of the most profitable of the exported products of Asia. Immense cargoes of corn, butter, salt, and

dried fish ; of skins and furs of all kinds ; rhubarb from Astrachan ; hemp, flax, rough cloths, and iron from Siberia ; were constantly being despatched from Tana, and formed the staple of a highly important and remunerative commerce. Tana, which had some time before been destroyed by Tamerlane, was quickly replaced by a new town and fortress, where the produce of the countries bordering on the Sea of Asoff was collected and distributed by Venetian merchants.

But in the midst of this prosperity, the parent Republic had misunderstandings with the Emperor Bajazet in regard to the Island of Cyprus, of which the latter had taken possession. The Venetians resolved to contest its possession with the Sultan, and as a consequence of this they were excluded by him from the Euxine, and did not recover their right to navigate this sea until the conclusion of peace. They then found that other competitors had sprung up during their absence. The Greeks and many of the Tartar merchants who had the sense to perceive the benefits which accrued to them in consequence of the immunity their flag enjoyed from the attacks of the Sultans, had now engaged in commerce. Some time after, Sultan Solyman excluded the

Venetians entirely from the Black Sea, which he reserved for his own subjects, and from this time the colonies of the Venetians gradually declined.

Muhammad Gerai Khan, who succeeded his father Mengli in A.D. 1515, continued the same shameless career of conquest and rapine, and even surpassed him in perfidy and faithlessness. He revived in his Tartar subjects and soldiery that thirst for blood and spirit of pillage and plunder which it had been the great object of his grandfather Hajji to overcome. The reign of Muhammad is a record of violated faith, of broken engagements and disregarded treaties, unalleviated by a single act worthy of a monarch or a man. He aided and attacked indifferently the rulers of Lithuania and of Russia, being guided in his choice of the one and of the other alternately as ally or enemy solely by the prospect of pecuniary advantage. In 1519, the inhabitants of Kasan, dissatisfied with their Khan, who had been appointed by Russia, offered the crown to Muhammad for his brother Saadet Gerai. Muhammad joyfully accepted the offer; and, marching at the head of an army of 80,000 men, surprised Kasan, put the Christians to the sword, and seated his brother on the throne.

In returning to his own government in 1521, he could not resist the temptation offered of an incursion on the Russians ; and joined by some Tartar tribes, he penetrated to the very gates of Moscow. The Czar Basilius abandoned his capital without making an attempt to resist the progress of the conquerors. The inhabitants sought refuge in the Kremlin in such numbers that they died from suffocation. Muhammad was content to withdraw after exacting a tribute from the Czar ; but he had previously gratified his cruel nature by ordering the massacre of all the invalids and children, alleging as a reason for this atrocity that his soldiers must be taught to accustom themselves to acts of cruelty. He returned to the Crimea with 108,000 prisoners which he caused to be sold as slaves at Caffa. In 1522 he marched with his army eastward to Astrachan, which he took ; but in the following year several tribes of the Nogai Tartars attacked him in his encampment, and seizing Muhammad in his tent, put him to death. The vast army which had been the instrument of his lawless aggressions dispersed in the direction of Perekop, whether it was pursued by its victorious enemies. The youngest son of Muhammad attempted to

ascend the throne of his father ; but the Grand Seignior refused to acknowledge his claims, and nominated Saadet Gerai, brother of the late monarch, to the sovereignty. Saadet, who had lost his throne of Kasan by the intrigues and dissensions of his generals and ministers, had retired to Constantinople, where he had become a great favourite. He was, however, invested with the mere shadow of independent authority in the Crimea ; being in reality the mere viceroy of the Sultan ; and the throne—if throne it can be called—of the Crimea was henceforth disposed of at the pleasure of the rulers of Constantinople. The brother of the barbarous Muhammad was of a gentle temper and disposition, and his manners had been polished by a residence at the Porte. Thus constituted by nature and habit, he was little disposed to bear with the turbulence of his subjects ; and, at the first symptoms of disaffection, he returned to Constantinople to lead a life more adapted to his temperament than the government of a race so lawless, inhuman, and predatory, as the Crim Tartars had become under their late rulers. Saheb Gerai, a son of Muhammad Gerai, and therefore nephew of Saadet, who, when only thirteen years old, had been made King of Kasan,

on the abdication of his uncle [A.D. 1534], was next nominated by the Porte Khan of the Crimea; but having, on some pretended suspicion, cruelly murdered his brother Islam Gerai, the Sultan, indignant at his unnatural conduct, sent his vizier to depose him A.D. 1551, and exiled him to the island of Rhodes, appointing Daulet Gerai, a grandson of Mengli Gerai, his successor.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CRIMEA UNDER THE TARTAR KHANS
APPOINTED BY THE PORTE;

A.D. 1551 TO A.D. 1644.

Daulet Gerai had hardly ascended the throne of the Crimea when he found it necessary to engage in war with the Russians. Russia had for many years been tributary to the Tartars; but in 1552, the year following the accession of Daulet to the kingdom (which it will be recollected consisted of Kapchak and Little Tartary as well as the Crimea), the Czar Ivan Vassilivitsch took possession of Kasan, and, two years later, of Astrachan; and in the preceding years, by a gradual process of absorption, the whole of the empire of Kapchak to the west of the river Jaïk (the Oural). As a consequence of the steady and pertinacious aggressions of the Russian monarchs, Saheb Gerai, in 1557, found the empire he had inherited shorn of its fairest provinces; and he was the last of the descendants of the great Genghis Khan who

reigned over Kapchak ; although he and his successors retained possession for many years of Little Tartary.

In A.D. 1568, Sultan Selim sent a powerful fleet and army to Kaffa with the design of attacking Persia ; and with a view to the success of this expedition he had entrusted to Daulet Gerai the execution of the difficult task of connecting the two rivers Don and Volga by a canal ; the object being to facilitate the transport of the Turkish army into the Caspian Sea. The expedition was entirely without result. The ground was found to be so rocky and impenetrable that soldiers adapted to such herculean undertakings made but slight progress ; and disease, produced by exposure during an inclement season and the privations arising from an irregular and insufficient supply of food, at length compelled the decimated army to return to Constantinople, whence it had set out.

In A.D. 1569, Daulet despatched a large Tartar army, reinforced by a contingent of Turkish troops, to recover possession of Astrachan ; but the Russians, true to the policy they have uniformly adopted when their territory has been invaded by foreign armies, avoided giving battle ; and cutting off all means of supply to the enemy, placed their

dependence in their inhospitable climate ; and found in the frost of winter, the desolation of the country, and the consequent privations suffered by their enemies, their most formidable allies. The invading army, compelled to retreat, was pursued by the Russians to the sea of Asoff, where vast numbers were destroyed in a hasty attempt to put to sea. The survivors who reached their own country were but a miserable remnant of the original expedition.

Irritated by the failure of his vast preparations for reducing the Russian power, Daulet Gerai determined on renewing the war ; and in 1571 entered Russia at the head of an army of 30,000 Nogai Tartars to avenge his former defeat ; burnt or otherwise destroyed every town or village through which he passed, and carried fire and sword to the very gates of Moscow, which he pillaged and burned to the ground. This was the last enterprise of his reign, his death having occurred on his return to the Crimea in the same year.

Muhammad Gerai was appointed his successor ; but having incurred the displeasure of the Sultan, a Pasha was sent to Kaffa [A.D. 1584] at the head of a small army, which completely routed the Tartar troops. Muhammad fell during the

battle, and Saheb Gerai was recalled from exile at Rhodes to fill the vacant throne. Saheb reigned only three years, and was succeeded by Gazi Gerai.

Gazi Gerai, the wisest and greatest of the Khans of the Crimea, was, as his ancestor Hajji Daulet had been, bent upon establishing on a solid and durable basis the government of the Crimea. He was a just, moderate, and generous prince,—a rigid observer of his obligations and treaties, and, in his after career, showed that, although his genius was rather civil than military, he possessed some of the qualities which go to make a great general. During his youth he was a prisoner in Persia, and in his adversity he had acquired a knowledge of human nature which could not have been attained under more prosperous circumstances. The Persians, at that time a highly civilized people, were to the Turks what the ancient Greeks had been to the early Romans. Gazi was endowed with strong powers of observation; and he undoubtedly gained, by his residence in Persia, much of the knowledge which he afterwards applied in the management of his Tartar subjects. He had, for that age, read extensively, possessed considerable taste, a cultivated imagination, was a good musician, and had achieved some

success in the domain of poetry. If these accomplishments availed him little with the turbulent race he was called to govern, they did not, at all events, unfit him for the prosecution of the schemes of conquest which he was constrained to carry on to satisfy in some measure the restlessness and rapacity of his subjects, nurtured by a long course of indulgence in unrestrained excesses and rapine, which had become almost a necessity of their existence.

His first expedition was against a prince of his own family, who had taken refuge at the court of the Czar Theodor, and who was encouraged by that potentate in his schemes to supplant Gazi. He attacked the army which the Czar had sent to oppose his advance, and utterly defeated it, compelling the rebellious prince to take refuge among the tribes of the Ukraine provinces. He then entered Russia, and laid siege to Moscow, spreading terror through the empire. The Czar Theodor was in consternation ; but, reinforced by troops sent by the neighbouring princes with whom he was in alliance, at length compelled Gazi to raise the siege ; and, grateful for the timely aid he had received, built a church on the spot where the news had first reached him of the advancing succours.

The retreating army pillaged the country in every direction, and soon returned in greater numbers to recommence the war. Three years after, Gazi Gerai distinguished himself in a war which, in conjunction with the Turks, he carried on against Rodolph II., Emperor of Germany, who was defeated in a battle fought near the river Aluta.

Gazi Gerai had infused many of the elements of durability and solidity into the kingdom of the Crimea, and notwithstanding the warlike character of his reign, was destined to end his stormy life in peace, or as the Turkish historian, in the rich language of Oriental imagery, expresses it, "to render up to the treasurer of Heaven his soul, more beautiful than glorious." On the death of Gerai, in A.D. 1608, the throne was filled by Salamat Gerai, who commenced his reign by the subjugation of some princes of his own family who were ravaging Anatolia, which formed part of the Turkish empire. He succeeded in his enterprise, and obtaining the pardon of his kinsmen from the Sultan, established them as lieutenants and governors under him.

To confer a favour is to do that which none but the magnanimous can forgive. Muhammad Gerai, in whose behalf Salamat had interested himself,

rose against him; and before the Porte could succour its protégé, Bakschi-Serai had succumbed to the arms of the ungrateful rebel, and Kaffa was already threatened. In the midst of these misfortunes Salamat Gerai suddenly died. The Sultan, in pursuance of the policy of his government, was no sooner aware of the successes of Muhammad than he issued his firman, constituting the victorious rebel Khan of the Crimea. The Grand Vizier, however, favoured the designs of Jani-beg, and being more powerful than the friends of Muhammad, he succeeded in reversing the decision of the Commander of the Faithful, and in procuring the appointment of Jani-beg. With an army of 20,000 Turkish troops, he espoused the cause of the latter; who, thus reinforced, vanquished Muhammad at Sohra after a well fought battle, in which, says the Turkish historian, "the earth resounded with the concussion caused by the firing of great guns." We may record in its chronological order here that in A.D. 1612, two years after the accession of Jani-beg, Padre Zgoda, a Jesuit missionary, attracted by the representations of a Genoese who had been sent on some political mission by Jani-beg found his way to the Crimea. In A.D. 1617 the

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Khan, at the head of a large army, accompanied the Grand Vizier, Redwan Pasha, in an expedition against the Persians, with a view to the reduction of their power on the confines of the Turkish dominions, which was always regarded by the Ottoman Sultans with jealousy. The expedition however failed; and while it was proceeding, Muhammad (who had retired to Adrianople), engaged in a successful intrigue with the officers of the Court at Constantinople, and obtained the pardon of the Sultan. He was taken into high favour, and on the death of the Grand Vizier Redwan, the friend of Jani-beg; prevailed upon the Sultan to instal him as sovereign of the Crimea; while Jani-beg was at the head of his army, fighting the battles of the Porte in Persia. This may be taken as a sample of the fickle, uncertain, and treacherous policy of the Sultans. The system of governing by means of pashas, ministers, and dependants of the seraglio, still prevails; and although the intrigues of these functionaries do not take precisely the same form, and are not carried on to the same extent as formerly, still there is the *imperium in imperio*, and pashas are disgraced and removed with dangerous facility, for no better reason than that they have

been supplanted in the favour of the Sovereign by more fortunate rivals. Honest and uniform government is impossible under such a system, and the condition of Turkey cannot be ameliorated to any extent, or its prospects improved, without a radical change in the whole scheme of government. From this time until 1629, Jani-beg and Muhammad continued to contest the throne, and reigned alternately as the success of their arms or of their intrigues at Constantinople permitted. In 1629 Muhammad fell in battle, and the throne of the Crimea being at the disposal of the highest bidder, was conferred on Jani-beg, who seems to have bribed most largely. His triumph was, however, of short duration, for in 1633 he was recalled and sent into exile to Rhodes.

The history of the Crimea from this time to the period when the peninsula finally came into the power of Russia, presents but few features of interest. The monotonous record of incursions into the neighbouring kingdoms of Russia and Poland, generally undertaken for the mere purposes of pillage, is broken by few incidents worthy of being published in this narrative. The Tartar race seems never to have taken kindly to the settled habits of civilized life, or to have been

able to accommodate itself to the quiet tasks and duties of citizenship. During this long period, the many rulers of the Crimea—who were successively set up and deposed by the Porte, and who were merely its puppets, raised to the throne one year to be degraded the next, and perhaps to be reinstated in a few brief months, when the last favourite fell into disgrace—found it necessary to engage in wars—sometimes in league with Poland against Russia, and sometimes with Russia against Poland,—but seldom in either case with any other design than the employment of the vast irregular armies, whose only means of existence was the contributions which they levied on the hostile towns or villages through which their destroying hordes passed to the scene of some aimless conflict. It will, therefore, be convenient if we condense into a few pages the scanty records of the next century; and we do this with the less reluctance, inasmuch as we fear that the most enthusiastic Dryasdust could infuse but little interest (and how little our readers who have followed us up to the present time can judge), into a history which is, at best, an unvarying recital of wars and sieges, successes and reverses, which neither influenced the fate of empires to any appreciable extent, nor

presented any instances of heroism or of patriotic devotedness which might lend a charm to the otherwise dull detail of the petty feuds and miserable intrigues of a race of irreclaimable barbarians. It is, however, impossible to pass over this period in the history of the Crimea without remarking that the intestine commotions, and the weakness and exhaustion entailed by long indulgence in predatory habits ; prepared the Crimea for its ultimate absorption into Russia, which, governed by independent princes intent on the extension and consolidation of their power, gradually expanded into a vast empire. It was impossible that the Tartar race could have long resisted the advances of a State, the destiny of which, at all periods of its history and under successive Sovereigns seems to have been directed by one uniform will and towards one definite object. The insatiable ambition of Catherine II. only anticipated what under any circumstances must have been the fate of the Crimea, if it had continued to be peopled by Tartars and to be protected by suzerains at once so weak in authority and so unsteady in policy as the Ottoman Sultans. In pursuance of the plan we have laid down, we shall refer only to such rarely occurring events in the reign of

each ruler of the Crimea as may be supposed to have influenced its ultimate fate, or which may connect it with the general history of Europe.

In A.D. 1655 Muhammad Gerai, the reigning sovereign of the Crimea, with an extent of perfidy by no means uncommon among his race at that time; agreed, in consideration of a bribe of 10,000 ducats, to abandon his ally the King of Poland, with whom he was engaged in a war against the Czar of Russia. He retired to the Crimea, leaving the Polish general, Poticki, to withstand as best he might the advance of the allied army of Russians and Cossacks; and Charles XII. King of Sweden, taking advantage of the peril in which the Polish army was thus placed, seized upon the city of Cracow. Muhammad thought he had found a new ally, and sent ambassadors to Charles with offers to aid him in his projects, on receiving a subsidy. Charles, however, was too astute a prince to entertain such a proposition; and the terms which he disdained were subsequently accepted by Russia.

In A.D. 1672 the Venetians made an abortive attempt to re-establish their commerce in the Crimea. They obtained, at immense cost, from the then Sultan, the permission to navigate the

Black Sea ; but the first fleet which sailed for the Crimea with merchandise was detained on its homeward voyage, by the Sultan's command, at the entrance of the Bosporus, and never permitted to return to Europe.

In A.D. 1674, John Sobieski, King of Poland, attacked and routed the army of Selim Gerai, who had, aided by Turkish troops, attacked Poland. We may remark in passing that Selim was one of the few rulers of any talent or capacity who shed a temporary lustre over the declining dominion of the Tartars in the Crimea ; and in consequence of the eminent services which he rendered during a somewhat protracted occupation of the throne, the Sultan Ahmed II. declared that none but his posterity should ever reign in the Crimea.

In A.D. 1709, when Daulet Gerai occupied for the third time the throne of the Crimea, Charles XII. of Sweden had taken refuge in the Turkish dominions at Bender, and was endeavouring to change the pacific disposition of the then Sultan Ahmed III. towards the Russians into preparations for war on a gigantic scale against that rapacious Power. He procured a copy of a letter written by Joseph I., Emperor of Austria, to Peter the Great, counselling that monarch to remove all

the Cossacks of his dominions from their steppes in the Ukraine to the north of the Crimea; to repeople the Ukraine with Germans and Swedish prisoners taken at Pultawa; to build fortresses on the coast of the Black Sea; and suggesting that, once rid of the Cossacks, he would one day be enabled to "*subjugate the Crimea, and even go further.*" He communicated the alarming document to Ahmed, who at once declared war against Russia; and instructed Daulet Gerai to advance with 6,000 Cossacks to invade the Ukraine provinces, while he sent the Grand Vizier at the head of a Turkish army to meet him near the banks of the Danube. The army of Peter the Great thus found itself surrounded by the allies in a plain near the city of Husch, on the river Pruth. In this predicament the Russians owed their salvation to the fertile invention of Catherine. The devoted wife of Peter collected her own jewels and as many others as the camp would furnish, and offered the Grand Vizier a bribe so magnificent that she rightly calculated on his inability to refuse it. The avarice of the Turkish leader induced him to comply with the conditions exacted by the wily Empress, and the treaty of the Pruth preserved Russia as a menace to a later

civilization. The heroic Charles XII. was sacrificed without any compunction by his unscrupulous ally ; and it was on this occasion that he made that brave and determined stand against overwhelming odds which will ever remain on record as one of the most glorious and brilliant feats of human bravery and prowess. With the aid of only about three hundred of his own personal suite, he defended himself against a large body of Turkish troops which had been sent to bring him, dead or alive, to Adrianople ; and retreating step by step, kept the foe at bay, till the house into which he had withdrawn being fired, he was quitting a position no longer tenable, but, encumbered by his spurs, he fell and was taken prisoner. It was about three months after this that he made his escape to Sweden, travelling day and night with such extreme rapidity that but one of his suite could keep up with him, and appearing at midnight of the 22nd of Nov., 1722, before the astonished Governor of Stralsund, during the siege of which place he performed those prodigies of valour which have made his name familiar as a household word. In 1736 the Empress Anne of Russia declared war against the Porte, as the power responsible for the incursions

which the Nogai Tartars were constantly making into the Russian dominions. General Munich was sent with a powerful army which advanced to Perekop, where Kuplan Khan awaited his attack behind the fortifications of the isthmus, which consisted of six old towers and a fortress on the Gulf of Sivash, occupied by Turks. Behind the trenches which had been dug by the defenders, a Tartar army, 100,000 strong, was posted. The Russians, however, took the place by storm, without waiting to make a breach, or to fill up the trench ; and, forming into one immense square advanced into the Peninsula, where the vastness of the plains enabled the Russian general so to dispose his forces as to secure success. A general massacre ensued ; the wretched inhabitants who escaped retired to the mountains, and the Khan abandoned his palace at Bakshi-serai, the capital, which was pillaged and burnt, as also was Koslow (Eupatoria). The Russian army suffered severely in this campaign from excessive heat and want of water, and Munich was at length glad to return to Russia, with only a fragment of the army with which he had advanced to meet the enemy. In 1737 the Tartars, determined on avenging the reverses they had suffered, entered Russia, and

devastated the districts through which they passed, returning to the Crimea with an immense number of captives.

In 1771, during the reign of Selim Gerai, the Russians, under Vassili Dolgorouki, entered the Crimea by bridging the Strait of Jenitsch; and passing along the narrow strip or tongue of land which divides the Sivash, or Putrid Sea, from the Sea of Asoff, took Arabat by assault, whilst another division engaged the Tartars, under Selim, at the Isthmus of Perekop. Yeni-kale, Kertch, and Kaffa, successively fell before the left wing of the army of Dolgorouki, while his right wing advanced upon Koslow and Balaklava, taking both places, and afterwards crossing the Strait of Kertch to Taman, which was also reduced with the aid of a fleet in the Sea of Asoff. The Tartars finally submitted to Catharine II., and Selim engaged to send his two sons as hostages to St. Petersburg; but he failed in this engagement, and, quitting the Crimea, took refuge at Constantinople. Catherine thereupon raised Saheb Gerai to the throne, who hastened to declare the kingdom independent of Turkey, and to put himself under the protection of Russia. As a guarantee of his good faith,

Saheb Gerai ceded to the Empress the fortresses of Kertch, Yeni-kale, and Kilburnu on the Dnieper, and thus laid the foundations of the Russian power in the Euxine. The Sultans made several efforts to regain the sovereignty, but failed in every instance; and the treaty of Kainardji, which was signed on the 10th of July, 1774, established Saheb in the Khanat of the Crimea. It was, however, stipulated that the jurisdiction of the Porte should be respected, and that the Khans should be appointed by Russia, subject to the approval of the Porte. The Sultan presented Saheb with the kaftan, turban, and sabre, the emblems of royalty in the East; and it was arranged that the Khans should notify their ascension to the throne to the two Courts; that public prayers should be offered up for the Grand Seignior in all the mosques; that the judicial officers should be nominated by the Porte; and that the coins of the realm should be struck in the name of the reigning Sultan.

In A.D. 1776, the Tartars, indignant at the conduct of Saheb in ceding Kertch and the other fortresses to Russia, revolted against him, and established Daulet Gerai, his brother, on the throne, whom the Porte hastened to acknowledge

as Khan of the Crimea. Saheb fled and took refuge at Rodesto, in Roumelia, where he enjoyed a pension paid by the Sultan. The throne which he so pusillanimously resigned, was, however, coveted by his more ambitious brother, Sháhin Gerai, who now assumed the sovereignty, supported secretly by the aid and connivance of Russia. Turkey, at the same time, was sending succour to Daulet Gerai; and thus both parties were violating the engagements which they had contracted by the treaty of Kainardji. The two Tartar armies met on the island of Taman, and Sháhin gained a complete victory. Daulet fled for succour and protection to Constantinople; but Catherine, under the pretence of enforcing the provisions of the treaty of Kainardji, dispatched an army under Prince Pousorowski; and the Porte, too weak to resist the Russians in the open field, abandoned Daulet, confirmed Sháhin in the sovereignty, and an embassy was sent to St. Petersburg to announce the re-establishment of his authority. Sháhin introduced into his court and army the dress of the Russians, and on every occasion aped their manners and customs, thus gradually preparing the way for the result which it had been the

policy of Russia to work out by gradual and insidious usurpation rather than by direct conquest. The restlessness of the Tartar race hastened the *denouement*. They were constantly rebelling against the protective authority they had not the patience to endure, nor the means to overthrow. The Porte, by its agents, intrigued to supplant the reigning Khan; but the Russian garrisons (or, as they might more properly be termed, the armies of occupation) stationed at Kertch and Yeni-kale were always ready to suppress any rising of the Mahommedan party, under the pretence of maintaining established authority. In the midst of these perpetual squabbles, Sháhín Gerai, the last monarch of the Crimea, resigned the sovereign power into the hands of Catherine, whose obsequious vassal he had been, and retired into Russia. He soon, however, sickened of the monotony of his new life, and obtained permission to spend the remainder of his days amongst his co-religionists at Constantinople. On arriving in that city, the Sultan exiled him to the island of Rhodes, where, some time afterwards, he is believed to have died by the hand of an assassin. Thus the last remaining fragment of the vast empire which had been ruled by the Moguls passed

into the hands of Russia; and the posterity of Genghis Khan, after having been for six centuries masters of Asia and Europe from the banks of the Ganges to those of the Danube, ceded their last stronghold to a race which had successively been their subjects, allies, rivals, and were destined in the end to be their conquerors.

The misfortunes of the Tartars excite neither regret nor commiseration. During their long career of triumph they had interrupted civilization, and introduced a barbarism which was unrelieved by any traits of heroism, generosity, or chivalry, which surround the history of many uncivilized races with the halo of romance. Unable themselves to appreciate the blessings of a settled and orderly life, or the advantages of commercial enterprise, they were incapable of founding a permanent empire, and jealous of permitting others to engage in pursuits which, by increasing their wealth, might create the basis of an antagonistic power. They drove the Genoese from their colonies, and systematically discouraged every effort which was likely to improve the fortunes of their country, by transforming it from a predatory camp into a hive of industry and a centre of commercial prosperity. Thus they prepared

the way for their own ruin, and deserved the overthrow which is the fate of all unprogressive races.

The final triumph of Russia, however, like the other encroachments and aggrandizements of that politic Power, was obtained by the skilfulness of its diplomacy. Some historians have thought that Catherine never intended to annex the Crimea to the empire of Russia; and this idea is countenanced by the instructions given to Suvarrow—to send all the Christian inhabitants of the Crimea into Russia, that they might be freed from the persecutions of the Mussulmans. In the manifesto issued on April 8, 1783, and signed by Potemkin; Catherine, however, declared her intention to take possession of the country, with a view to put an end to the continual disturbances amongst the Tartars, and of defending Russia from the attacks which the Porte or its dependents was constantly making. Such excuses were never wanting to the rulers of Russia when the moment for consummating their encroachments had arrived. The truth, however, is that the annexation of the Crimea was a project which had been for a long time in course of execution. No sudden invasion

and occupation which would have provoked resistance and revolt, was ever meditated ; for the policy of Russia was to absorb rather than to conquer. The destruction of Polish independence is the only instance in which the rulers of the empire deviated from their successful policy of thoroughly sapping the national spirit of a people, before they attempted to denationalize them ; and that was accomplished by a sovereign who was eminently moderate and pacific. The Crimea, on the other hand, was annexed to Russia by a sovereign who inherited the policy, and acted on the policy, of Peter the Great. The destruction of the Mahommedan power in Europe, was the darling object of her ambition ; and the road to the coveted empire of the Byzantine monarchs lay through the Crimea. But it was necessary to success that there should be no demonstration of her intentions which would re-awaken the slumbering spirit of the Tartar races, or provoke any formidable manifestation of hostility on the part of the Sultan ; and, with the patience, the caution, and the prudence which have been the characteristics of its most impulsive monarchs, Russia pursued its way, making constant progress towards the attainment of an object which was never

avowed ; and not always suspected. To estrange the Tartars from the Porte was an easy task ; and the encouragement of their internal quarrels was a certain means of destroying the spirit of the nation and of corrupting its leaders. The “protector” succeeded to the ally ; and a right having been acquired to interfere in the government, the people gradually acquiesced in pretensions they had been accustomed to submit to ; and scarcely noticed the change when—the process of absorption being completed—the Crimea became a part of the empire to which it had long been really subject. The politic moderation of Catherine contributed to her success. She respected the private property and possessions of the Tartar inhabitants ; allowed Mahomedans, whose religious scruples prevented them from swearing fealty to a Christian Sovereign, to retire from the country ; and permitted those who remained the free exercise of their religion and the choice of their judges. These concessions have left the Tartar inhabitants of the Crimea to this day in the possession of a larger share of liberty than is enjoyed by those unfortunate “children of the Czar,” who form the population of the more ancient dominions of Russia ; and it is no wonder

that they reconciled the Tartars to the loss of the independence which had long been merely a name; and to the deposition of the monarchs of their own race, whose petty ambitions and frequent quarrels must have exhausted the means and tired out the patience of their unhappy subjects.

PART II.

THE CRIMEA UNDER RUSSIAN DOMINION.

CHAPTER I.

Although the armed interference, by which the consummation described in the last chapter had been effected, was in direct opposition both to the letter and the spirit of existing treaties, and was accomplished in defiance of the rights of nations, Russia did not hesitate to publish the manifesto alluded to in the last chapter, justifying her shameless spoliation; and to accuse the Turks of having broken the treaties which she herself had so audaciously violated.

This document would have remained an inimitable model of astuteness and of impudence if, in our own times, a successor of the Czarina, and one who had frequently disavowed her policy—the Czar Nicholas—had not equalled, if not surpassed, his illustrious ancestress by the manifestoes

which have given to the entire world a means of estimating the honesty and loyalty of Russian policy.

We cannot resist the temptation to cite some passages from this remarkable document :—" Our last war against the Ottoman Empire having been followed by the most signal success, we had an undoubted right to annex the Crimea to our empire. But we did not hesitate to sacrifice this conquest and many others of a like kind to our ardent desire to re-establish public tranquillity, and to secure a footing of good intelligence and of amity between our own Court and that of the Ottoman Porte. This was the motive which determined us to stipulate for the liberty and independence of the Tartars who had submitted to our arms, in the hope that we might by this means remove for ever the causes of dissension between Russia and the Porte.

" But whatever may have been our sacrifices, and our hopes of attaining this end, we have seen them, to our great regret, dissipated. The natural restlessness of the Tartars, encouraged by insinuations, the source of which is not unknown to us, has been the reason of their readily falling into the snare of those who had sown among them

the seeds of trouble and division; so that they have worked to enfeeble and undermine the edifice which our beneficent care had raised up for their welfare, and for the promotion of liberty and independence under a chief chosen by themselves. The love of peace which is proved by our conduct has recompensed us for the great expenses to which we have been put."

The manifesto goes on to say that the vast losses in men and treasure which the continual risings of the Tartars against their sovereigns, or against Turkey, had occasioned to Russia, "requires that, once for all, we should take the firm resolution to put an end to the troubles of the Crimea. Therefore we annex to our empire the peninsula of the Crimea, the island of Taman, and the Kouban, as a just indemnity for the losses we have suffered, and the expenses we have incurred to maintain peace and happiness." The Empress, however, promised to secure to the Tartars the free exercise of their religion, and invited them to imitate the zeal, the submission, and the fidelity of the nations who had the happiness to live under her government.

In the following year (1784) the treaty by which Russia secured possession of these countries was signed at Constantinople, and Turkey recognised

the right of Russian vessels to navigate the Black Sea, and to pass through the Straits of the Dardanelles. Catherine thus obtained what her great ancestor had earnestly sought, an outlet for the enormous commerce from the ports of the Sea of Asoff, of the Black Sea, and from the coasts of Abasia and of Russia itself. Mistress of the Crimea, the Empress restored to it its ancient name of Taurida, and the Kouban received its original appellation of the Caucasus.

In the midst of the ruins of Stara Crim (the ancient Cimmerium), sheltered by the mountains, and shaded by beautiful trees, stands one of those villas which were erected for the haughty Empress when, in the pride and pomp of imperial success, she visited her new conquest, accompanied by her minister and favourite, Prince Potemkin. At every place where the magnificent cortége—whose triumphant march was graced by the presence of the King of Poland (whom Catherine had first crowned, and afterwards dethroned), and of the Emperor Joseph II. of Austria—halted for repose, or was expected to pass the night, the Empress found a palace prepared for her reception. These ephemeral structures, raised to flatter the pride and deceive the observation of the Empress, have

fallen into decay ; and nothing now remains to interrupt the melancholy solitude of the villa at Stara Crim.

Catherine had sent an ambassador to the Porte to notify her intention of visiting the Crimea ; and the Turks, in their alarm, dispatched a small fleet to the mouths of the Dnieper, while the Empress was at Kherson. This warlike preparation did not, however, disturb the tranquillity of the illustrious traveller. Potemkin accompanied his imperial mistress, and spared nothing which might flatter her pride of sovereignty. Provisions and treasures, and cavalcades of nobles and Tartar chiefs, arrived from all parts ; the highways were illuminated, and the Dnieper covered with magnificent barges ; villages were run up with magic celerity and of corresponding durability, to disguise the desert appearance of the interior of the country. An army of 50,000 soldiers accompanied the monarch, and presented cogent reasons for the submission and homage of the population, who came in crowds to acknowledge the Empress as their legitimate sovereign. At one time a body of the most disciplined and warlike of the Tartar cavalry, commanded by their chiefs, surrounded the carriage

of the Empress, and formed her escort. This hazardous experiment of the daring gallantry of Potemkin somewhat alarmed Joseph, who had not been prepared for such a "scene"; and it is not difficult to conjecture that, had these half-savage bands been a little less awed by the display of Russian troops, or a little more devoted to their country, they might have availed themselves of the opportunity afforded them to rid their country of a mistress they had not desired; and that Europe might thus have been saved from the calamities which it owes to the ambition of Catherine and of her successors. The Empress continued her triumphal progress, and entered Bakshi-Serai, where she occupied that which had been the palace of the Khans. Had the Tartars preserved a spark of the spirit which led to their indignant protest against the sovereign who had ceded to Russia Kertch and the other fortresses of that peninsula, the desecration of the abode of their ancient chiefs by a foreign and a Christian monarch would have provoked them to a revolt. That they were inclined to resent the affront thus offered them cannot be doubted; but the wily Catherine and her minister contrived, by the lavish distribution of treasure and by a judicious indulgence in personal cour-

tesies, to calm the excitement they had anticipated. Policy, rather than a tolerant disposition, suggested the propriety of assigning funds for the erection and maintenance of the mosques; and the Mirzas were not slow to testify their devotion to the imperial patroness who showered upon them her favours.

The history of the Crimea as an independent State has now reached its conclusion. The instigator and the hero of the wars which terminated its existence as a separate State—Potemkin—was, however, destined to pass from the scene in which he had been so prominent an actor, without having the satisfaction of seeing his conquest secured by the treaty of Jassy, which was signed in 1792; for he was seized with the illness which terminated his career, while engaged in the preliminary conferences, and died at Nicholaef. His remains were treated by the Emperor Paul with perhaps merited but useless indignity. Catherine had designed to erect a magnificent monument to the memory of her favourite; but her son and successor directed that the body of the man who had been a prey to all the vices which can disgrace and degrade humanity, and who had at last fallen a victim to his own excesses,

should be thrown into the ditch of the fortress, in the chapel attached to which his remains had been deposited preparatory to the execution of the intended monument.

The principal achievement of the miserable Potemkin—favourite, slave, and pander to his Sovereign—was probably the annexation of the Crimea; which, as we have seen, became *legally* absorbed in the vast empire of Russia soon after his death. It may, however, be doubted whether the annexation of this long-coveted peninsula has much contributed to the greatness, the power, or the welfare of the sovereign state. Territorial acquisitions, always sought by despotic monarchs, are often a source of difficulty and embarrassment; and the conquest of Potemkin has always been a thorn in the side of the rulers of Russia. Two Czars have “died of the Crimea”; and at this moment Russia, invulnerable in her frost-bound cities and the inaccessible wilds of her ancient empire, *there* invites the attacks of the enemies her aggressions have roused into activity, and will *there* receive the blow which is destined to reduce, if not altogether to subvert, the vast power which has been built up by the perseverance and the guile of her successive rulers.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRESENT INHABITANTS OF THE CRIMEA.

THE Tartars who, in our own times, form the great majority of the inhabitants of the Crimea, may be divided into three classes, each distinguished from the other by broadly-marked characteristics. First, there are the Tartars of the plain, or, as they may be styled, the true Tartars. Secondly, the Tartars of the mountains; and thirdly, the Nogai Tartars. The Tartars of the plain occupy the steppes of the Crimea from the foot of the southern mountain-range extending from Balaklava to Theodosia or Kaffa, to the isthmus of Perekop. Agriculture and the tending of the flocks and herds, in which their chief wealth consists, are the pursuits of these simple tribes. They live in houses formed of such stones as are found in their immediate neighbourhood, and occasionally of bricks of unbaked clay; and covered by flat roofs and terraces similar to those seen in Turkish cities.

These Tartars of the plain retain to this day the facial outline and expression of the Mongol race. The Tartars of the mountains are a mixed race, the remnants of the various tribes which have successively occupied the Crimean peninsula; and the traveller is struck by the formation of the head and the general physique of the Tartars in the mountainous districts, which distinguish them in the most marked manner from their brethren of the villages and plains. The principal occupation of the mountain races is the cultivation of the vine, of the extensive orchards which abound in the Crimea, and occasionally of flax and tobacco. This section of the Tartar race is, however, held in light esteem by the other two, who bestow upon them the contemptuous appellation of "Tat," a Turkish word which signifies a "renegade"; and their restless impatience of control have always rendered them the most troublesome subjects of their Russian masters. Their habitations are built on the steep faces of the mountains, one above the other, like the steps of an amphitheatre—the roofs of one row serving as a causeway for the inhabitants of the row above. The Nogais are few in number, and have no fixed habitation. They wander about like their forefathers, driving

their herds before them ; and, when they arrive at a favourable halting-place, pitch their portable houses or tents, and sojourn for a while in these hastily-formed encampments. Their temporary houses are remarkably primitive contrivances, quickly erected, and made weather-tight. A few cushions, a small wooden table, and one or two wooden plates comprise the furniture of the house. The principal food of the Nogais, according to ancient usage, is horse-flesh and mares' milk ; and a sheep's skin and a rough coarse woollen garment constitute their ordinary clothing. They preserve the peculiar physiognomy of the Tartar race, and are undoubtedly the descendants of the first conquering armies of Genghis Khan.

The Tartar youths of the better classes dress mostly in the Circassian style, and wear generally a moustache ; but the old nobles have long beards. Their boots are of morocco leather, over which is worn a kind of slipper, in walking abroad ; and, in bad weather, the sort of stilted clogs common in Turkey. The women are generally of small stature and delicate features, as also are the boys and youths. They adopt many of the artifices of the toilet common in Eastern countries, such as dyeing the nails with henna (*kná*), and heighten-

ing the beauty of their eyebrows and hair by a composition so efficacious that one application of it suffices for a period of six months.

The Tartar language is a dialect of the Turkish* ; but many words are engrafted from the Italian—the language of the Genoese and Venetian colonisers. *Mangid*, “to eat,” *camera*, “a chamber,” *tas*, “a cup,” are illustrations which will suffice to show the sources from which some of their most familiar words are derived. The Genoese had adopted in the same manner many Greek and Tartar words into their dialect.

Kleeman, who visited the Crimea about a century ago, gives an account to which the modern traveller has little to add. He says that the Tartar nobles are fond of dress, that they move about accompanied by troops of useless attendants, that they possess many of the attributes of chivalry, are exceedingly gentle and generous, very hospitable, and have nearly lost all traces of their former savageness,—a description which certainly applies to their descendants.

* See *Appendix*.

CHAPTER III.

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, HABITS, AND RELIGION.

It is impossible to conceive a greater contrast than that which exists between the habits of European nations and those of all Eastern countries. The phlegm of the Dutchman is vivacity itself compared with the perfect torpor and *insouciance* of the Tartar, who will sit in the same posture smoking his long pipe and drinking coffee from morning till night with, perhaps, the single distraction of an occasional nod of the head. The *summum bonum* of Tartar felicity is the "*far niente*." Their cafés are usually built in the form of kiosks, and, in the country, are shaded by large trees, and ornamented with trellis work, about which vines are allowed to creep. They are so situated as to command extensive and picturesque views, which the guests do not, however, appear greatly to appreciate or enjoy; and they abound in even the smallest villages. Occasionally a story-teller, who narrates his tale in a monotonous discordant chant,

or a dancer, who performs his task with a grave uniform motion, enlivens the scene and brings a transient smile upon the otherwise immobile faces of the dignified assemblage, whose appreciation of the efforts of their entertainers is testified by a quiet motion of the head. If a Tartar can obtain the means of passing life in this manner his ambition is satisfied. He has few wants that are not easily supplied; and he will make an incredibly small quantity of food suffice for nourishment, although he will indemnify himself for this abstinence on the first opportunity.

If we strip the idea of a pastoral life of all its romance, the image is not an inviting one. It must be admitted that it engenders restlessness and impatience of control, and is adapted only to a warlike and fierce people. The Tartars inherit much of the spirit of their early ancestors, and have little attachment to home. Their active life is passed mostly on horseback, and they are consequently very expert equestrians. They have been reproached with cruelty and a spirit of plunder; and, were this true, which it is not, they possess the counterbalancing virtues so often found in a state of society not highly civilized—good faith, disinterestedness, hospitality, and a generosity, even

towards their bitterest enemies, which would do credit to the most polished nations. They preserve the primitive ways and habits of their race before it migrated from the wilds of Siberia; though, of late years, Russian influence has to a great extent modified their habits. Deprived of their arms by Russia, they yet strive to preserve the memory of former conquests. The Mirzas, or nobles, too proud to serve, know no profession but that of arms; and, jealous of their personal honour, are magnanimous and generous in all their proceedings. They are hospitable, and receive strangers with affability and politeness, keeping up the custom which has prevailed among them from time immemorial, of killing a young mare to welcome the arrival of a guest of distinction. The Tartars are distinguished for the strength of their domestic affections; and polygamy, though allowed by law and the Mahomedan religion, is very seldom practised. The women rarely go abroad; and their lives are passed in the fulfilment of their household duties and in the education of their children, that of the girls in particular being mostly conducted at home. The sexes are separated at a very early period of life, and the girls are betrothed as soon as they reach three or four years of age,—their settlement

in life being managed entirely by the parents of the future bride and bridegroom. The marriage ceremony is performed with the gravity and decorum which distinguishes all their acts. Of course there is little question of anything but convenience in these unions, but they seldom result in the unhappiness which might be expected.

The superiority which the male sex arrogates to itself is shown on every occasion. There is none of the gallantry, respect, or deference which women command among the civilized nations of Europe. It is seldom that a Tartar rises or stands in a woman's presence, and he never does so but out of deference to the rank of her husband. The morals of the Tartars are, at least, respectable; and the punishment which awaits any lapse is very severe. The marriage vow is rarely broken; in fact, the respect of Tartar women for their husbands is only equalled by the honour which the children pay to their parents. They never permit themselves to sit until having asked and obtained permission; and take every occasion of kissing the hands of their father, mother, and other relatives, and asking their benediction. Even the most abandoned are anxious to escape the disapprobation of the authors

of their being. A superior in age or authority never rises to salute an inferior; and yet all willingly and gracefully accord the customary civilities. But, notwithstanding these habits of politeness, Tartars—and more especially those of an elevated rank—preserve much dignity and even hauteur in their address.

The education of the Tartars is, generally speaking, very imperfect. Warriors up to the time of their subjugation by Russia, they have hardly yet come to regard literature or the arts as worthy of their attention; and they have carried their indifference to such a length, that many of them who occupy the highest positions in society can scarcely sign their names. The compulsory pursuit of the occupations of peace is, however, leading them gradually to appreciate the advantages of an education which they had too long disdained. Primary instruction at least is universal, and there is scarcely a village without its school. The mode of instruction is sufficiently curious to claim a passing notice. The young people of the village and its neighbourhood generally assemble in a room, and the eldest, or most promising pupil, reads aloud passages of the Koran; while the other boys, who are seated on low

cushions round the room, follow the sound of his voice, and beat time to his utterance with motions of the head. When the first boy has finished, a second commences; and so on to the last. This method has the advantage of impressing what is read upon the youthful mind, and riveting on the memory the words of the sacred book, which every good Mussulman is supposed to know by heart.

The dances of the Tartars are, in accordance with their general character, grave and dignified; but they have also the bizarre dances peculiar to Eastern nations. An eye-witness gives an account of one of these which is more grotesque than graceful. A Tartar mountebank placed in the centre of a room a glass full of *bouza* (a drink made of millet fermented); and, the music having commenced, began dancing, turning about, and imitating the action of a drunken man, throwing himself on the ground as if he intended to shatter the glass, and then suddenly raising himself amid shouts of laughter without effecting the mischief he had threatened. The music was then renewed with increased vigour, the votary of the Tartar Terpsichore keeping up the convulsive agitation of his limbs with untiring

energy. After some time had been passed in this fatiguing operation, he again suddenly threw himself on the ground, took up the glass in his teeth, and eventually swallowed the contents, without once using his hands.

The Tartars are generally inordinately fond of dress. Even the poorest of them contrive to make an attempt at a fine appearance; and they will often sacrifice their domestic comfort to the passion for luxurious clothing. Furs especially are greatly coveted, and there are few artizans so poor as not to possess for winter wear a pelisse of lambskin, or of the fir of the cat or squirrel.

The pleasures of the table receive a large share of attention. The *cuisine* is not, however, unsusceptible of improvement either in delicacy or variety; although among the higher classes some attempt at epicurean refinement is made. The people still preserve the custom of their ancestors of eating the flesh of colts, which many of them esteem a great delicacy; and the highest mark of attention that can be paid to a favoured guest is to kill a young mare for the banquet prepared on his arrival, this being to the Tartar what the "fatted calf" was to the patriarchs of Canaan. They eat in silence, and although

they sit long at table, do not adopt any of the modern artifices for prolonging the meal, or suspending the more laborious efforts of mastication. They use the primitive forks which nature has supplied to every man in his ten fingers, but never fail to wash their hands both before and after the repast, for which purpose clean napkins generally hang conveniently upon the walls.

Like other Mussulmen, they are obedient to the laws of the Koran with respect to wine and other fermented liquors, though they sometimes relax the stringency of the Mahometan code in favour of a species of beer made with millet fermented. The more ardent products of the still are also in great request; and the mountains furnish many wild fruits from which a kind of liquor resembling our brandy is obtained.

Drunkenness is very rare among the modern Tartars; and they present, in this respect, a marked superiority over all classes of their Russian masters, who are notoriously addicted to this vice. To their temperance, their general frugality, their quiet life, and their exemption from the fatigue of excessive labour, is probably to be attributed their sound constitution, and their remarkable freedom from sickness. They are seldom

attacked by the various maladies, such as fevers, remittent and intermittent, which invariably afflict the stranger who sojourns in the Crimea; and they frequently attain to an extremely advanced age. Rheumatism is, perhaps, the only disease from which they can be said to suffer; and their liability to this ailment may be traced to their frail dwelling-houses, which are rarely furnished with windows, and whose iron bars may be sufficiently strong to exclude the midnight thief, but afford no protection against such insidious enemies as the wind, the rain, and the frost.

The houses of the higher classes possess, however, a certain amount of elegance. All the apartments have floors inlaid with coloured wood, and are, moreover, carpeted. The most extreme cleanliness reigns everywhere, and the whole house is washed and scoured at least once a week. The humbler classes, on the other hand, live in the midst of filth and vermin, and, as a consequence of their uncleanly habits, the itch is hereditary amongst them.

Like other Mahometans, the Tartars are fatalists, and hence the resignation and immobility which characterize them. The old adage, that "Heaven helps those who help themselves" is one which Tartars

cannot understand. They rely upon the finger of God to effect all that they desire ; and the conviction is so deeply rooted that man is unable to avert or alter one jot of what is destined to occur, that they bow to every misfortune which befalls them, or which they bring upon themselves, as the fulfilment of their “kismet” or fate. Benevolence has always been one of their characteristics ; and they are proverbially generous to a fault ; so that, from want of any discrimination in the distribution of their alms, abuses arise which it is difficult to check among a people who abandon themselves to the generous impulse of the moment. Tartars are often known to give their whole fortunes to the support of institutions having for their object the mitigation of human misery in its many forms ; and the compassion they show towards their fellow-creatures is extended to the brute creation. Animals are rarely ill-treated ; and laws for “the prevention of cruelty to animals,” have been in force among this comparatively barbarous people from the very earliest ages,—ages before the legislators of the civilized West had thought of interfering as protectors of the mute and docile quadruped against the aggressive cruelty of the polished biped.

CHAPTER IV.

AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE.

The Crimea from remote times has been considered as the storehouse and granary of the neighbouring countries. The Greeks drew thence almost inexhaustible supplies of corn. In the time of Leucon, King of Bosphorus, the exports of corn to Athens alone amounted to 2,100,000 *medimni**; and, according to Demosthenes, the imports from the Chersonesus alone exceeded those from all other countries. There can be no doubt that the soil makes a grateful return for the trifling cultivation it receives from the Tartar inhabitants of our own times. Even so recently as forty or fifty years ago, the Tartars were in the habit of keeping large stores of grain in pits, protected against the attacks of vermin by being lined with a dry clayey marl hardened by fire.

* In round numbers, nearly 400,000 quarters.

The climate of the Crimea is extremely fickle, and the alternations of temperature extreme. It has been remarked that since the Russian occupation the winters have been more inclement; and this has been accounted for by the fact, that in the frequent passages of armies, much of the timber and brushwood which sheltered the country from the fierceness of the winds has been destroyed. Something too may be owing to the ignorance and indifference of the Tartars themselves, who set no value on trees as timber; and who remorselessly cut down the young saplings for firewood, and fell whole forests of thriving plantations to form the wheels and axles of their clumsy arabas. The country by these means has been gradually stripped of its sylvan adornments, and deprived of the shelter which nature had provided against the blasts of winter.

The plough in use, as well indeed as all other implements of husbandry, is of the most primitive construction. It is usually drawn by oxen, and sometimes by as many as three yoke; but as few Tartar farmers possess more than one yoke, they club together their resources, and thus plough each others' land. Buffaloes are used in the mountainous districts,

where the soil is much harder than in the plains. The choice of crops is very large, and includes many species of wheat, of rye, and of barley, millet, maize, peas, oats, flax, and tobacco. The vine is extensively cultivated, and there is little doubt that the country might, by judicious treatment, be fitted for the production of first-class wines.* Vineyards abound in the neighbourhood of all the rivers, more especially on the banks and in the vicinity of the Katcha, the Alma, and the Belbek.† The principal obstacle to the cultivation of the vine as a branch of agriculture, is the cost; for the Tartar race is not fond of labour, and, least of all, of continuous labour; so that those who are willing to work always command comparatively high wages. The Crimea

* The vines have in many cases been brought by German emigrants from the banks of the Rhine. The Russian nobles also have been praiseworthily anxious to encourage this branch of industry, and have at great expense procured the best vines from France and Germany. The wines of the Crimea are hence usually called after the name of the place whence the stem were originally brought, and an odd effect is produced on the traveller when mine host places before him what he calls the finest vintages of Johannisberger and Assmanshausen.

† It was while passing these rivers in the celebrated flank-march from the Alma to Balaklava, that the soldiers of the Allied army, jaded and worn, entered the vineyards through which their route lay; and indulging too liberally in the rich fruit of the vine, became early sufferers from the painful and debilitating maladies to which the stranger who spends an autumn in the Crimea, is at all times, and under the most favourable circumstances, liable.

possesses almost all the ordinary European fruits, besides many which Europeans esteem luxuries ; and melons, apples, and cherries are as abundant as blackberries in the hedges of England, in September.

The principal articles of the very limited commerce of the Crimea are leather, salt, wheat, soda, butter, dried fish, and some species of furs. The exportation of many articles, such as hides, wool, and saltpetre is prohibited, though still largely and profitably carried on. The most important of the articles mentioned above is unquestionably salt, of which vast quantities are exported. The morocco leathers of the Crimea are not inferior to those of Turkey, and their manufacture employs nearly one-tenth of the whole working and trading population. Many original sources of industry, however, were lost when the Greek and Armenian settlers were compelled to emigrate by the order of Catherine. The Tartars may be supposed to have few wants, if a judgment can be formed from the limited number of trades among them ; for the streets of a Crimean town exhibit a repetition of smiths, farriers, saddlers, potters, bakers, shoemakers, barbers, and butchers, to the almost total exclusion of other trades.

The extensive and abundant fisheries of the Sea of Asoff are also a source of considerable wealth; and sturgeons are obtained in such large quantities that they form an important article of commerce. The red backs of this fish dried in the sun are in much request; and the roes, when salted, are manufactured into the *caviare* so extensively in demand in Russia, Greece, and Italy.

The imports are principally silk and cotton stuffs, the wines of the Archipelago, sugar, coffee, and other colonial produce.

The incurable idleness and want of enterprise which characterise the Tartar race totally unfits them for profiting by the admirable situation of their country for the purpose of commerce: and their apparent inability to “farm well,” almost precludes the hope which the extensive fertility of the soil would otherwise justify—that the Crimea may yet become a great centre of agricultural wealth and prosperity. Nature lavishes her blessings in vain upon a people who are too indolent either to appreciate or profit by them.

CHAPTER V.

THE CAPITAL OF THE CRIMEA, AND THE
PRINCIPAL TOWNS.

WE have now to give some account of the principal towns of the Crimean peninsula, and we begin with its capital under the new *régime*—Simpheropol. This city was formerly called Ak-mesjid, from two words signifying “White-mosque”; but its present Greek name was restored to it by its Russian masters. It is delightfully situated at the foot of the Tchatir-dagh range of mountains in the midst of an extensive plain, intersected on its eastern side by the rapid Salgir. This site was chosen with a view to admit of uniform extension in each direction, but the original design does not seem to have been fully carried out. It contains about 400 houses, and about 11,000 or 12,000 inhabitants. It is the seat of the civil department of the Government, as Sebastopol is of the military and naval departments; and

there is a marked difference in the Russian inhabitants of the two places. The civil *employés* of Simpheropol affect contempt for the military officials of Sebastopol, and the latter heartily reciprocate the feeling. The town is really not one, but two towns. The old Tartar town, still called by the natives Ak-mesjid, is situated above the new Russian town, and is built in the Tartar fashion, with high walls to the houses, narrow and tortuous ill-paved streets, minarets, cupolas, and bazars; while in the new town, which is situated below (as we sometimes see in continental cities—Brussels, for instance), the streets are laid out in straight monotonous rows, and on a scale quite disproportioned to the size of the place. The large pretentious-looking squares are seldom used as promenades or meeting-places by the inhabitants, who stir but little abroad, and serve only to increase the dulness, and to give an aspect of desertedness to the town. Perhaps one reason why Simpheropol is not more resorted to, may be found in the fact of the notorious insalubrity of its atmosphere. The neighbourhood, however, possesses great attractions for the Tartars, as it abounds in game; and they here pursue their favourite recreations of hawking and hunting.

Simpheropol possesses but one building of any pretensions to architectural beauty—the Greek Cathedral. Extensive public offices and barracks have been erected, but they all seem to be too large. The city itself is built upon too extensive a scale, and would certainly contain at least three times its present number of inhabitants. The Empress Catherine having employed the Chevalier Pallas in 1796 to prepare statistical accounts of the Crimea, the learned Professor, with more zeal than honesty or discretion, described the Peninsula in his “*Tableau de la Tauride*,” as a terrestrial paradise; or, to use the words of his dedication “*cette belle Tauride, cette province si heureusement disposée pour toutes les cultures qui manquent à l’empire Russe.*” For this courtly flourish Catherine made him a Councillor of State, and sent him to reside on an estate with which she presented him, and where Dr. Clarke found him, as he himself confessed, in a pestilential atmosphere—the victim of his own courtier-like sycophancy to his autocratic sovereign.

Having spoken of the modern capital, we will now turn our attention to the chief city of the Crimea under Tartar dominion. Bakshi-Serai, the

“Palace of the Garden,” and the residence of the Khans of Crim Tartary up to the time of its subjugation by Russia, is situated between two elevated mountains in a narrow dale, through which winds the small stream called the Tchourouk-Sou on its way to the river Katcha. The houses are built partly in the valley and partly in terraces one above the other on the face of the mountain. The pretty gardens belonging to some of the villas, the elegant towers and graceful minarets of the numerous mosques, and the tall Lombardy poplars scattered over the landscape present a *coup d’œil* rarely surpassed in the Crimea. The inhabitants are chiefly Tartars and Jews, few Russians residing here. It is well known that the Mahommedans of all nations have ever paid great attention to the supply of water in their cities. Many of the fountains, of which there are not less than seventy or eighty in this city, are remarkable for the artistic beauty of their design, and for the bas-reliefs with which they are adorned. The Palace of the Khans is situated on the Tchourouk-Sou, and is reached by a stone bridge thrown over the stream. On the left of the palace stands the principal mosque, and, somewhat in the rear, is the

mausoleum in which the Khans, with their families, and the chief Mirzas and priests, repose. The palace consists of but one story ; and though it is still kept up at the expense of the Russian Government, no longer resembles the glorious place it was in the time of the Tartar dominion. Enlarged and improved by their successive monarchs, it had become, in the eyes of the Tartars, a kind of enchanted and fairy-like abode ; and indeed its slender towers and ample domes, its walls inlaid with mosaic, its marble peristyles, its myrtle groves, its rosy bowers, and thousand fountains which spread around a grateful and refreshing coolness, entitled it to be so regarded. Of these, its ancient characteristics, little now remains. The measured tread of the Russian sentinel echoes through the halls where chiefs, who vied in magnificence with the most illustrious of Oriental sovereigns, once held their court ; and the Russian Eagle now spreads its wings over the ample portico once adorned by the all-conquering Crescent.

The commerce of Bakschi-Serai is not unimportant. There is a considerable inland trade carried on, and, perhaps, more appearance of bustle than in most Tartar towns. The Mirzas

visit the town, riding in from their country-houses in the neighbourhood, and draw their supplies thence, so that altogether the place is in a thriving condition.

At a short distance from Bakschi-Serai is situated Tchoufout-Kale, a small town inhabited by Jews only. These Jews reject the Talmud, and are, in many other respects, entirely different from their co-religionists in other countries. Their honesty is proverbial, and their word is invariably regarded as an ample security in all transactions ; or, in the language of the proverb, "their word is their bond." These Jews are for the most part engaged in commerce and manufactures. Many of their ceremonies are very peculiar, and those which relate to the celebration of marriage deserve a notice. Two or three days before the wedding, the family and friends of the affianced couple assemble to testify their joy and pleasure on account of the approaching event. On the wedding-day, the bride, accompanied by her relatives, and by the rabbi or priest, repairs, with her eyes bandaged, to the river side ; and there, being divested of all her garments by her young female companions, who are also equally destitute of clothing, she is plunged three times in the water. This ceremony

being over, she is re-attired, and brought home amidst music and dancing ; and in the evening, with her eyes still bandaged, is conducted to her husband.

The tolerant spirit of the Tartars has always permitted these Jews to carry on their trades and occupations free from any molestation or peculiar impost, though the Khans in former days were accustomed to levy *voluntary* contributions, and sometimes to stimulate the loyalty of their Israelitish tributaries by a threat of injuring their cemetery, and cutting down the beautiful trees which adorned it, under the plausible pretext of wanting fuel and timber. The veneration in which the Jews held this Valley of Jehoshaphat always served to excite their liberality, and the Khans never had occasion to perpetrate the threatened desecration. Some of the tombs in the cemetery date as far back as the year 1445.

The town of Theodosia, the Kaffa of the Genoese colonists, and the Ardauda, or City of the Seven Gods of the ancient Greek colony from Miletus, next claims our attention from the important part it has played in the history of Taurida. The vicissitudes of fortune which this

once great city has undergone are calculated to excite more than ordinary emotion. Even the supine and *poco-curante* Tartar is somewhat roused when invited to describe the former magnificence of Kaffa; and the Turks, who frequent it now-a-days for the purposes of commerce, heave a sigh of regret over its fallen greatness. The history of Kaffa presents another example of the inability of a conqueror to resuscitate the commercial prosperity which he has annihilated in the prosecution of his ambitious schemes. About the middle of the first century of the Christian era, Theodosia was sacked by the Alans, and the Huns subsequently completed the devastation their fellow-barbarians had begun. Arrian speaks of this place as quite deserted; and not a vestige remained to indicate the site of the old Milesian colony; when, more than a thousand years afterwards, other navigators, not less intelligent and enterprising than the early Greek colonists, landed on the coast of the Chersonesus, and founded a city which soon became the centre of a most extensive and important commerce, and whose annals form one of the brightest pages in the history of the Peninsula. It was in the middle of 13th century that the Genoese obtained from the

rulers of the Crimea the grant of a small tract of land on the coast forming the Bay of Theodosia. Here, in the year 1280, the city of Kaffa was founded, and so rapid was its rise that nine years later it was able to dispatch nine armed galleys to the relief of Tripoli, then besieged by the Saracens. In the course of the continual disturbances and revolts among the Tartar race, Kaffa continued to increase in importance, until, in 1386, it had become a strongly-fortified city, possessing some inland territory. To this day, despite the efforts of those modern Vandals, the Russians—who appear to be equally incapable of reverence for antiquity, or consideration for the national feelings of the races they have conquered—much remains to indicate its former magnificence, and the strength of its defences. It had attracted the trade of the whole Asiatic continent, and so far rivalled the capital of the Greek empire that it received the name of Kuchuk Stamboul, or Little Constantinople. About this time, in the hour of its pride and glory, Mahmoud II., fresh from the conquest of Constantinople, and flushed with victory, came to despoil and destroy it. Though the city voluntarily surrendered to the conqueror, it gained little by its submission; and, so dreadful was the carnage,

that it is no exaggeration to say that rivers of blood flowed through the streets. One half of the inhabitants were banished or sent into slavery; the place was almost dismantled; and the treasures the citizens had accumulated were carried to Constantinople. Mahmoud subsequently attempted to restore the trade and importance of the place, but in vain. The Russian Emperors Alexander and Nicholas spared no efforts to the same end, but with no better success. In the palmy days of its prosperity Kaffa contained no less than 100,000 inhabitants, and had frequently between five hundred and six hundred vessels in its port. But the proud city which the energy and enterprise of the Genoese colonists raised to such a height of prosperity, that it more than rivalled the mother-republic in opulence and luxury, is now a port of little commercial consequence, and with a population not much exceeding that of an English fishing village. A few months of lawless Eastern oppression sufficed almost to annihilate the colony which, during two hundred years, had vindicated by its commercial successes, the ardour, the perseverance, and the all-conquering energy of European genius. It remained, however, for the modern barbarians of

Europe, the Russians, to accomplish its ruin. On the annexation of the Crimea to the Muscovite empire, the little commerce that was left to the peninsula was destroyed by the Russian system of prohibition of tariffs; and all that Kaffa gained from its new masters was the restoration of its ancient name of Theodosia, which the Emperor Alexander somewhat pompously conferred upon it. The Russians have, since they settled in the town, destroyed most of the objects of beauty and interest which they found there; and it will scarcely be credited that, through the stolidity of the Muscovite governors and the cupidity of the officials generally, many of the baths, fountains, and mosques which formerly ornamented the town, have been removed for no better reason than that the dull conquerors required the marble from which the basins of the one were formed, and the lead which covered the roofs of the other. Two mosques alone remain, and these owe their preservation to the piety and patriotism of the Tartar and Greek inhabitants, who provide funds necessary to maintain them. Notwithstanding these evidences of Russian sway, Theodosia still exhibits *souvenirs* of its former occupants. The general appearance of the town, and of the houses, and the streets

paved with large flags, tell of its former connection with the great Mediterranean Republic of Genoa. Many inscriptions, relating to its former inhabitants, in remote and in mediæval ages, yet remain, though half-defaced; and the traveller cannot fail to be interested by a visit to this place. It has been suggested as a desirable anchorage for the Allied fleets, and there was at one time some intention to occupy it. Altogether the place is one of so much historical interest and importance that we have thought it desirable to present, as a frontispiece, a view of it, which has been copied from the magnificent work of the Baron Dubois de Montperreux.

Kertch, formerly called Panticapæum, and at a later date Bosporus, the capital of the Bosporian monarchy, forms a pendant to our picture of Theodosia. In ancient times it was the seat of a very considerable commerce, possessed a large population, and was the chief city of a powerful monarchy. Now its inhabitants are a few hundred Greek fishermen, and it may be literally described as a place where only the "fisher spreads his net." It is situated at the foot of a steep mountain, on the coast of the Cimmerian Bosporus, or Strait of Kertch, and possesses an excellent harbour.

Within its walls died Mithridates the Great. What it once was we may partly judge from the testimony of one who visited it in its palmy days :—" During the interval which succeeded my intended departure," says the young Anacharsis in his Travels, " I came away and returned again and again. I could not satisfy myself with viewing the citadel, the arsenal, the harbour, the vessels, and their manœuvres. I entered at hazard the private houses and the manufactories. I quitted the town, and my eyes rested on the fruit-laden orchards and the land smiling in riches." There is a Museum at Kertch rich in antiquities and in relics of its ancient inhabitants. Many bas-reliefs bearing the Winged Lion of St. Mark have been found and are preserved as mementoes of its sometime colonists.

Sebastopol, the only place of importance which we have not described, requires but a short notice, since our readers will have already made themselves familiar with its position. History it has positively none. The village of Aktiar was chosen by Catherine for the erection of a fortress which should establish the dominion of Russia in the Black Sea. The house still exists which was built for her reception on the occasion of her visit

to the Crimea in 1787. It would be impossible to find any point more favourable for the formation of an arsenal and naval station than Sebastopol, and the natural advantages of the situation have been improved by all that engineering and military skill could suggest. The result has been the construction of one of the most stupendous fortresses in the world—a fortress which has for six months defied the armies of the two foremost nations in the world, and laughed to scorn the most powerful ordnance that ever rent the welkin with its thunders.

A passing notice must be taken of the less important towns and villages. First there is Perekop, a little village placed on the isthmus which joins the Crimea to the continent. The eastern shores of the isthmus abound with salt, which is procured by the waggoners by merely driving their vehicles axle-deep into the shallow waters, and there loading ; the salt lying like sand in the waters of the Sivash or Putrid Sea. The driver pays a tax of ten roubles to the Government for permission to draw salt from this inexhaustible source.*

* Dr. Clarke observes—"Nothing can be more striking than the spectacle afforded by these immense caravans slowly advancing in a direct line by hundreds at a time, and presenting a picture of

Koslof (Eupatoria) is situate on the western coast of the peninsula, on a sandy and circular bay. It is a Tartar town, shut in by walls and flanked with towers. Its streets are narrow. There is but little commerce carried on. The population is about 3,000, and is composed of Tartars, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. The roads for shipping are very dangerous at certain seasons of the year.

In-kerman — “the Town of Caverns” — is situated on a height; and the rocks all around the extremity of the harbour are hewn into caves, or grottoes, which are supposed to have been the work of Greek anchorets. These remarkable caverns, which are not unfrequently met with in the mountains of the Crimea, are shown in the view of Inkerman which forms the subject of the engraving on our title-page.

Mangoub, or Mankoup, is a fortress which was built by the Genoese, literally in the clouds. It covers the summit of a semi-circular isolated mountain, so precipitous and of so great an altitude, that the fortress itself is almost inaccessible. On the most elevated part of this

the internal commerce carried on by Russia throughout all parts of her vast empire.”

eminence lies a beautiful plain, covered with rich verdure, and capable of furnishing the holders of the citadel with ample supplies of food, if brought into cultivation ; so that it might be rendered impossible to starve the garrison into submission by the investment of the fortress. The prospect from this elevation is the most extensive and beautiful presented from any point of view in the peninsula.

Balaklava, the *Portus Symbolorum* of Strabo, and the *Bella-chiava* (beautiful harbour) of the Genoese, is situated in the southern part of the peninsula, at the extremity of the mountain *Aia-dagh*. On the heights above the mouth of the port—which, viewed from the town, appears like an inland lake, land-locked by high precipitous mountains—are the ruins of a magnificent fortress built by the Genoese. Balaklava was, until its occupation by the English army last year, wholly inhabited by Greeks who, at the end of the last century, migrated from the Grecian Archipelago to colonize this place. The harbour is deep and affords shelter and anchorage for vessels, driven on the coast by sudden storms and unable to double the Cape. It is not a place of any commercial importance in the present day.

The other towns of the Crimea, such as Karasubazar ; Eski-krym (Old Krim) which gave its name to the whole Peninsula, and was undoubtedly in early times a very populous and flourishing town, and one of the opulent strongholds of the Genoese ; and Yenikale, which is situated in the extreme southern corner of the peninsula of Kertch, and was formerly a town of some importance, are now places of little consequence and less interest. In the last named town the Turks maintained a garrison until the Crimea was ceded to the Russians.

Our brief description of the present state of its once flourishing cities and towns will have shown the reader that the Crimea has neither increased in prosperity nor importance through its connection with Russia. Perhaps it is too far distant from the heart of the empire to permit of that infusion of Muscovite energy which Russia boasts of as the means of restoring surrounding realms from the decay and decrepitude into which they have fallen. Or, perhaps, a reason more satisfactory to the common sense of Europe, if not to the self-delusion of the Russian propagandists, may be found in the political and

social system which the conquerors have introduced. If it were possible to excuse the despotic code of Russia, on the ground that it is necessary as a means of restraining, disciplining, and training for ultimate admission into the ranks of civilization, the fierce and savage races who people a considerable portion of the enormous territory ruled by the Czars; it is not possible to justify the application of such a system to a country which had attained to a higher pitch of commercial prosperity than Russia has ever aimed at; and to a race wanting, indeed, the spirit of enterprise, which might be developed under a mild and wise political administration; but not needing to be restrained by the iron hand which, if it curbs the excesses of the savage Cossack, crushes the comparatively docile nature of the modern Tartar.

The last remnant of the ancient prosperity of the Crimea has disappeared under the arbitrary rule of Russia; and an acquisition which might have contributed to the greatness of the conquering State has become an element of weakness. The steward has been unfaithful to his trust! the ruler has been weighed in the balances and found wanting! Perhaps the day is not far distant when civilized Europe may point to the

plains of the Crimean peninsula, fertilized by the efforts of hardy and persevering colonists; and to its ports, again become the commercial entrepôts of the East;—as evidence that it was actuated by no selfish ambition, and undertook no unnecessary task, when it wrested from the tenacious grasp of the Russian Czars the fair territory which they had ruled only to blight and destroy.

APPENDIX.

GOVERNMENT OF THE KHANS.

The power of the Khans was limited by the difficulty of keeping in subjection a large number of nobles who were always ready to join some other branch of the reigning family. The revenue was inconsiderable, seldom surpassing 400,000 ducats, although the Circassians, as well as the Nogais to the north of the Crimea, and of the Sea of Asoff, were tributary. This sum was insufficient to cover the expenses which habits of luxury and prodigality had engendered; therefore it was always found necessary to have recourse to rapine, and to the extortion of sums of money in the shape of tribute from the conquered. A Khan could call together 200,000 horsemen, who, by their feudal tenure, were compelled to come, each provided with provisions for three months. The Kalga-Sultan, or Lieutenant of the Khan, was the second person in dignity in the kingdom. He commanded the army in the absence of the Khan; and on the death of the sovereign, he carried on the government until the will of the Porte was known. The Nour-eddeen-Sultan was the lieutenant of the Kalga. The Or-beg was the third dignitary of the State, and was governor of Or-Kapi or Perekop. All the appointments at court and under the government were filled by Mirzas, members of the great families; with the exception of the Mufti, or expounder of the law; the Cadi or judge; and the Diwan Effendi, who were all named from Constantinople, as their offices required more intelligence than was generally possessed by the Tartars. The Mufti, as chief of the religion, was the equal in rank of the princes of the royal blood. The Cadi was the judge who pronounced sentence according to the "fetwas" or decisions of the Mufti. The Diwan Effendi was the Secretary of State, and had the direction of the correspondence with the Porte. The Mirzas were the descendants of the first conquerors of the Crimea. The chief of these was the family of Shirin, who had been the companions of Genghis Khan, and one of the first to enter the Crimea; and it was with this family that the princes of the royal blood mostly intermarried. Justice, if we may believe the writers of those days (Peyssonel and others), was administered with great equity among the Tartars, though they retained the barbarous custom of consigning the murderer into the hands of the relatives of the murdered man, with the permission to the head of the family either to cut off his head or to accept "the price of blood," a sum as large as the murderer was supposed to be capable of raising.

KEIF-GIL.—*See* Introduction.

Bailun is the Arabic name, and Keif-gil the Turkish, for a kind of Fuller's-earth of which the Germans make their meerschaums. It formed a considerable article of export to Constantinople; but, since the interruption of commerce between the Crimea and Turkey, this clay is procured from Konia, the ancient Iconium, in Anatolia. People have imagined that this earth serves the inhabitants of the country in lieu of soap. This is not exactly the case. It is in the first instance dried and beat into powder, then dried rose-leaves are mixed up with it, after which it is moistened with rose-water and kneaded into a paste, and made up into small balls of an inch in thickness, with a round hole traversing them of half an inch in diameter. When these have been dried in the sun, they are hung up by a string passed through them, and kept ready for sale. The use made of them is to wash the hair of the head after ablation; and the object is more to have an agreeable fragrance than to clean the skin.

UNITY OF THE SCYTHIAN RACE IN THE CRIMEA.—

See p. 27.

If the various nations that have succeeded each other in the Tauric Chersonesus had not been all of one and the same branch of the Scythian race, there would now be found some descendants of each nation, or, at least, a mixed breed of all. But this is not the case, the population of the Crimea is purely Tartar, with the exception of the Jews, Armenians, and Greeks, who have always kept apart.

THE GOTHES.—*See* p. 98.

Baron Busbeck, who was ambassador at Constantinople from the Emperor Ferdinand, A.D. 1662, fancied that he had discovered remnants of this people, whom he calls Aborgines. We subjoin the extract from his Fourth Letter (Oxford edition, 1660, p. 217), which we have translated from the learned diplomatist's not very classical Latin:—

"I cannot here omit mention of what I have discovered concerning a race of people still dwelling in the Tauric Chersonese, [Crim Tartary]; of whom I had often heard, as betraying a German origin, both in their language and manners, and even in their features and personal traits. I had been long desirous of seeing some of those men, and, if possible, of getting from them something written in their language. Fortune at length satisfied my wishes. Two men from that place were sent here, who had some complaint to make to the prince, in the name of their tribe; my interpreters fell in with them, and remembering what I had ordered them in case an opportunity should offer, they brought

them to me to dinner. One of them was tall, his whole countenance betrayed a sort of honest simplicity, so that he might have been taken for a Fleming or a Dutchman; the other was shorter, of a more compact person, dark complexion, and a Greek by birth and language, but by frequent intercourse, he had a very fair knowledge of their language; for the former, by the neighbourhood and frequent intercourse with the Greeks, had so learned their tongue, that he had forgotten his own. On my asking him relative to the qualities and manners of the people, his replies were consistent. He said they were a warlike race, who now dwelt in several villages; from which the chief of the Tartars, when he required them, could obtain eight-hundred men of infantry, armed with muskets; the chief support of his power. They have two chief towns, one named Mancup, the other, Sivarim. He added many things relative to the Tartars and their rude habits; among whom however, he said there were not a few of extraordinary wisdom; for when questioned on grave matters, they reply briefly and to the purpose. Therefore the Turks are accustomed to say of them with some point, that other nations have their wisdom written in books; but that the Tartars have devoured their books, and consequently keep it hidden in their breasts, to be used when required, and poured out like divine oracles. He said they were very dirty in their customs; if there was any gravy or soup for dinner, they wanted no spoons, but swallowed it out of the hollow of their hands. That they eat the flesh of dead horses, without being cooked; merely spreading the slices under the horse's saddle; as soon as it was warmed by the heat of the horse, they ate it as though it were well cooked. That the king of that people took his food from a silver plate; that horse's head was the first dish put on the table, and the last too; just as butter with us is the first and last. I will now write down a few words which he repeated in a German idiom: for of an equally large number, the form was quite different from ours. The words little different from ours, were the following:—

Broe, bread.	Tag, day.
Plut, blood.	Oeghene, eyes.
Stul, seat, chair.	Bars, beard.
Hus, house.	Hunda, hand.
Wingart, vine (qu. vineyard).	Boga, bow.
Reghen, rain.	Miera, ant; mier (Dut.); myra
Bruder, brother.	(Swed.)
Schwester, sister.	Rinck, or ringo, ring.
Alt, old	Brunna, a well, spring.
Wintch, wind (qu. wintd).	Waghen, carriage.
Sivir, silver.	Apel, apple.
Goltz, gold.	Schieten, to shoot.

Kor, wheat (qu. corn).
 Salt, salt.
 Fisct, fish (qu. fisch).
 Hoef, head.
 Thurn, gate.
 Stern, star.
 Sune, sun.
 Mine, moon ($\mu\eta\eta\eta$).

Schlophen, to sleep.
 Kommen, to come.
 Singhen, to sing.
 Lachen, to laugh.
 Critten, to weep (greet, Scottish).
 Geen, to go.
 Breen, to roast.
 Schwalch, death.

On asking him, he repeated the numerals, ita, tua, tria, fyder, fyuf, [f/yuf] scis, sevene, athe, nyne, tuhne, thün-ita, thune-tua, thune-tris, etc., exactly like us Flemings. He called twenty, stega; thirty, treithyen; forty, furdethyen; a hundred, sada; a thousand, hazer. He also repeated a song in their language, the beginning of which was in this way:—

Wara wara ingdolou:
 Scute gisa Galizu,
 Hœmischelep dorbiza ea.

Whether these people are Goths or Saxons, I cannot decide. If they are Saxons, I think they must be derived from the time of Charlemagne, who dispersed that race through various parts of the world. The towns of Transylvania, yet inhabited by Saxons, are a testimony of that fact. And perhaps he would desire to remove the most fierce among them to as great a distance as he could, to the Tauric Chersonese; where indeed they still retain their christian religion among enemies. If they are Goths, I suppose they must have inhabited these countries in ancient times, near the Getæ. It will not perhaps be far wrong, to say that the greater part of that land lying between the island Gothia, [Sweden,] and what they now call Precop, has been at some time inhabited by Goths. Hence the different names of Goths, West-Goths, and Ostro-Goths; hence the globe traversed by conquest; and hence the great nursery of barbarian multitudes. This is as much as I have learned about Crim Tartary from these men of Precop.

THE HUNS AND THE TURKS.—See p. 103.

According to Dr. Latham, the Huns certainly existed in and about the Turkish Empire, full 1,200 years B.C., so that the separation from the European branches (which went northwards) must have been anterior to that epoch. This would also account for the striking difference between the Tartaric and European languages, which has induced philologists to imagine them to have had a separate origin.



